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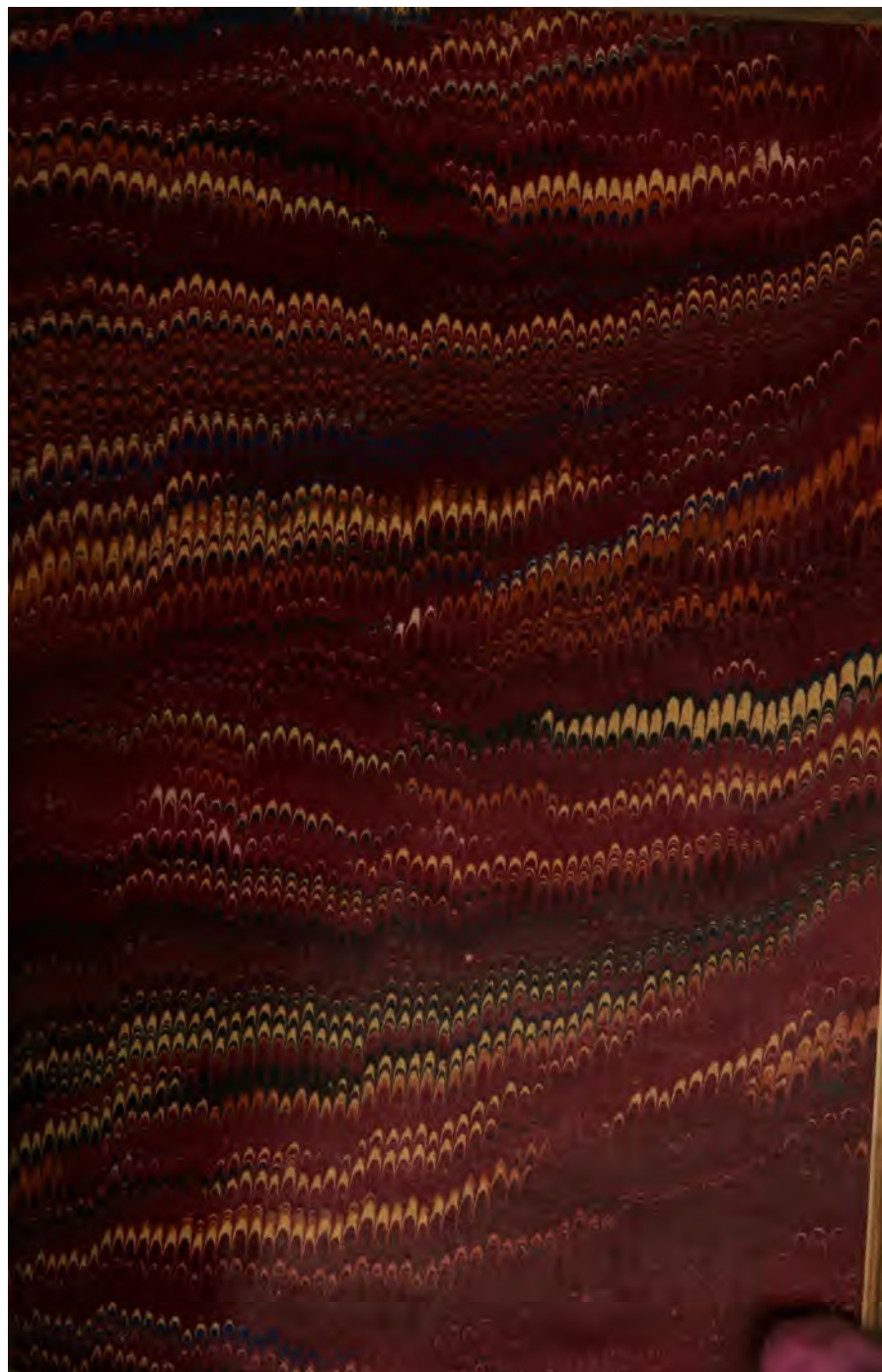
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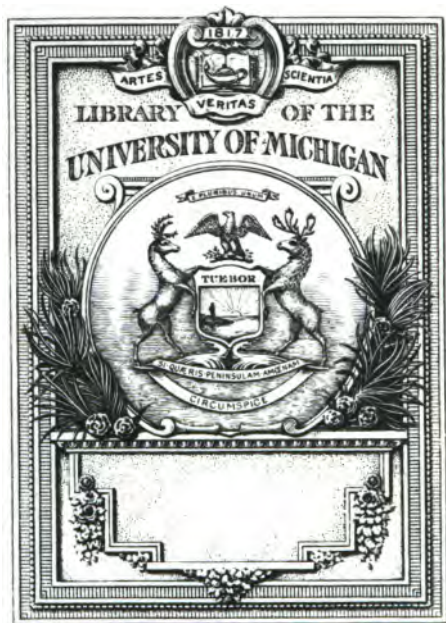
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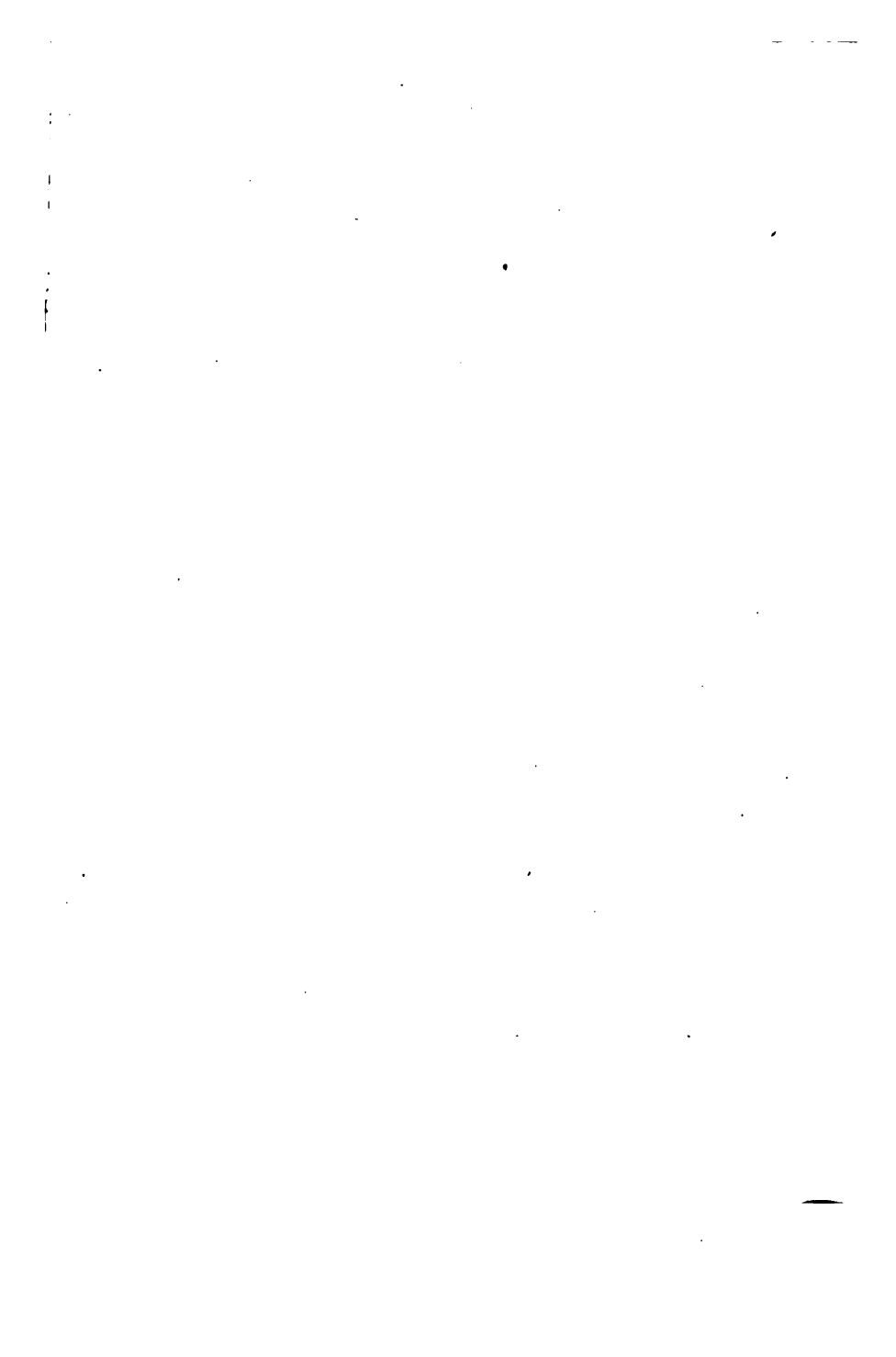


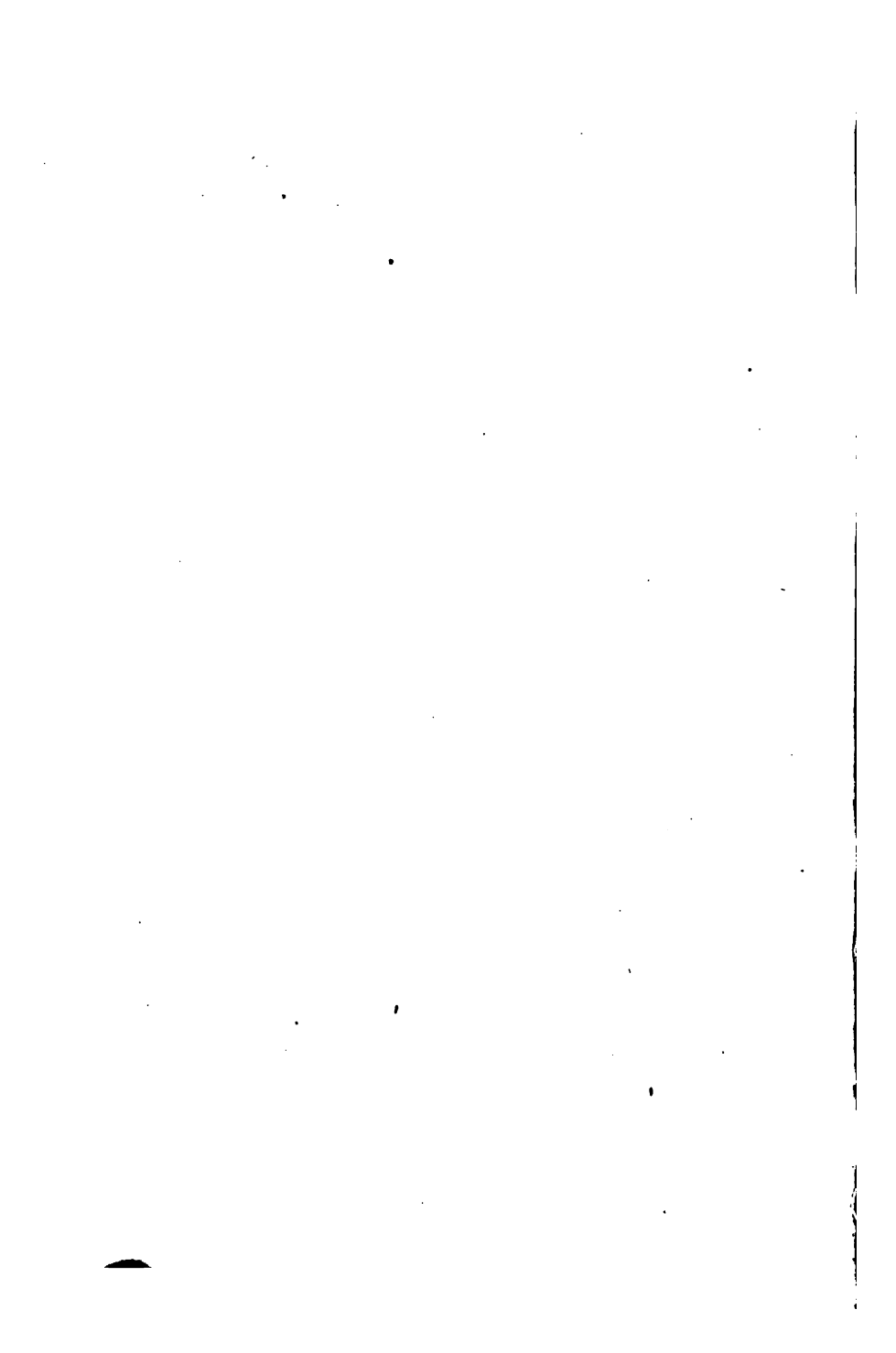
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LETTERS FROM HEAD-QUARTERS;

OR, THE

REALITIES OF THE WAR

IN

THE CRIMEA.

BY AN OFFICER ON THE STAFF.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

WITH A PORTRAIT OF LORD BAGLAN, AND PLANS.

SECOND EDITION.

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Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
December 3rd, 1854.

NOTHING of interest connected with the siege has occurred since I last wrote, except that yesterday morning (2nd) the Russians made another sortie, with a view of retaking the "Ovens." It was shortly after 5 A.M. that the enemy advanced in considerable numbers, drove in our sentries and sharpshooters from the "Ovens," entered our musketry trench, and succeeded in turning out the men who occupied it, consisting of a party of the 50th regiment. Our troops could make but little resistance, as they were quite benumbed with the wet and cold

of the previous night. Fortunately, just then, the relief belonging to the Rifle brigade came down, and met the men of the 50th retiring before the Russians. Our Rifles immediately advanced and retook the trench and "Ovens," driving the enemy out with some loss. In this affair we had two men killed and five wounded; the Russians left seven killed inside our works, but carried off whatever wounded they may have had.

Our engineers continue to try and drain the trenches as much as practicable, but I cannot say with much success, as after each day there appear to be new places that require it. I had to go all through the trenches yesterday; it was raining the greater part of the time, and I never saw anything like the mud which one had to wade through. The men looked for the most part miserable and cold; everything they had on was wet through and through, and even when they returned to their tents they would have no dry clothes to put on. The works, however, appear in very good repair, and in no way damaged by the enemy's fire.

A considerable quantity of warm clothing has been received from home and from Constantinople, but it is with the greatest difficulty that it can be brought up to the front for the use of the troops, as the land-transport of the army is now reduced to a

mere fraction even of what it was, and it has never been sufficiently numerous. The consequence is, that one day during the past week some of the troops were on half-rations; but every effort was made the following day to make up the deficiency due to them, and, I believe, with success. It would appear that our allies, the French, have suffered the same inconvenience from the wretched state of the roads, as only to-day I was told by several of their soldiers that for the last week but few things have been able to be brought up from Kamiesch Bay, and that for several days past the only meat issued to the troops has been salt pork, to which it seems they are not over and above partial; and of this they have not had their usual ration. However, many endeavour to make up for the deficiency by eating horse-flesh, of which there is plenty fresh to be found, from the unfortunate animals which daily die from over-work and exposure to the weather. Some of them declare that, when well cooked, horse-flesh is not half bad eating; and a few go so far as to say that they prefer it to their ordinary ration beef, which, by-the-by, is generally very coarse meat.

On the 1st of the month there was a long Council of War held at the English Head-quarters, between the allied generals, which lasted nearly five hours. I understand it was chiefly to come to some arrangement as to furthering the operations of the siege,

or rather for keeping our works and batteries in an efficient state. General Canrobert promised us assistance to bring some of our material up to the front.

The French have begun to construct a road from Kamiesch to their Head-quarters, and it is afterwards to be continued on to General Bosquet's division, along the rear of our position, until it meets the Woronzoff road. For this purpose the French have no less than 6000 men daily employed; but even with that large number they say it will be some weeks before it is completed. We have also set about 1000 Turks to work to improve the road from Balaklava up to the Plateau, or, more properly speaking, to clear away the mud at the worst places; and, where the ground will admit, digging a trench on either side, so as in a manner to drain it. However, in spite of this, I fear that little good will be done, as the soil appears to be of such a clammy nature, that the water neither sinks nor evaporates, but is retained near the surface. Moreover, the Turks are the very worst workmen in the world, especially in wet weather, at least as far as our experience goes with them here. It is said that a great number of them desert over to the enemy, chiefly at night, from the portion of the lines they defend, which extends from the Col of Balaklava to the height on which General Vinoy's brigade is camped.

Lord Cardigan has sent in his resignation to Lord Raglan on the score of illness, and consequently a medical board was ordered to assemble and report upon his case; and it has decided that he is totally unfit to continue in command of the light cavalry. He therefore returns to England immediately, until his health is completely re-established. I may as well mention to you that on the 1st, Lord Lucan reported officially to Lord Raglan that the division of cavalry was not capable of further active service. Lord Raglan therefore informed General Canrobert of this unfortunate fact, and ordered the brigade of light cavalry to move down to the valley of Kadakoi, to which place they marched yesterday (2nd). They have the advantage of being sheltered from the cold winds of the Chersonese, and have a better chance of being provided with forage, which, since the hurricane of the 14th, has been issued in but scanty quantity.

Lord Raglan rode down to Balaklava yesterday, and visited the hospitals: they were not in the most comfortable state, but great excuses are to be made: the constant change of inmates—the want of medical officers—the wretchedness of the weather, which precludes the possibility of keeping the floors clean—the difficulty of getting the bedding cleansed;—all these, together with the dreadful disorder from which most of the patients are suffering, namely, cholera

(in all its stages), prevent that order and comfort which are so necessary to the recovery of the sick. Lord Raglan gave several directions, and made various suggestions to the medical officers for the better regulation of the hospitals, and went round to the majority of the sick, and had for each a word of kindness and sympathy. The cholera broke out with increased violence a few days ago in the army; yesterday, between 70 and 80 men died of it, and near double that number went into hospital for treatment. General Pennefather, to the great grief of every one, was taken ill with it on the morning of the 2nd instant, and is in a dangerous state. However, the medical men say that the cholera is not of the same virulent order that it was at Varna, and when we first arrived in the Crimea; so we must hope for the best. Our losses from this dreadful scourge dishearten the men far more than the hardships they have to bear, and the constant dangers to which they are exposed.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
December 8th, 1854.

We have at last got into fine weather again; you cannot think what a comfort it is. The bright sun of this morning makes every one look cheerful once more. For three days numbers of our men were

upon short rations, from the total inability of the commissariat to transport them from Balaklava to the front. Every endeavour is being used to supply every man in the army with warm clothing, and I believe the large majority have received a thick jersey and a pair of warm socks and gloves; and now that her Majesty's ship "Hannibal," 90 guns, has arrived from England, bringing large supplies for the troops, it is to be hoped that in a few days all our men will be furnished with a complete suit of winter things. What are most wanted are great-coats; but unfortunately upwards of 25,000 were lost in the "Prince." Colonel Wetherall has endeavoured to replace this deficiency by sending up from Constantinople all the Turkish great-coats that were to be bought there; but he appears to find it difficult to get them of sufficient size, as, although they hardly look so, the English soldiers are half as broad again across the shoulders, and half as long again in the arms, as the Turks.

In reply to your inquiry, the statement made by some of the newspapers that "we have set a great hospital in Sevastopol on fire, burning 2000 men in it," is all nonsense. It is extraordinary how these lies are originated, and how easily you good people in England are led to believe in them. Special inquiry has been made of all the deserters from the town, and they have invariably stated that the wounded are

removed daily across the harbour to their hospitals on the north side. Of course there are several buildings in the town appropriated as temporary hospitals; but the two principal of these, we understand, are in Fort Paul, in the Karabelnaia suburb, and Fort Constantine, in Sevastopol. I believe both these great forts are almost, if not quite, out of range of our guns, and certainly too far off for us to do them any serious injury. The following is from my journal:—

December 4th.—The 90th regiment, 750 strong, arrived at Balaklava from Dublin direct in the “Europa” steam transport, having been only 17½ days coming out, including a delay at Malta and Constantinople of nearly 48 hours. For the present they are to be encamped close to the town. General Pennefather is so far better to-day that he has been taken down to Balaklava in Lord Raglan’s carriage for change of air. (I don’t know that I ever mentioned to you that Lord Raglan bought a carriage some months ago at Constantinople, but ever since he has had it, I believe he has only been in it *once* himself, but it is almost in daily use to take down sick and wounded officers from their camps to the ports.)

December 5th.—For a wonder it did not rain to-day, but last night it poured in torrents, with very heavy hail. The brigade of heavy cavalry on the high ground in rear of our Head-quarters moved

down to-day to the valley of Kadakoi, where the whole of the division will be together. Temporary stables are to be erected; but there are such difficulties in the way, that I doubt much whether they will be finished before the worst part of the winter is over. If they could be supplied with plenty of good forage, I think the horses would do perfectly well, without being under regular shelter. As it is, they get little or no hay and but a small ration of barley, consequently not a day passes without many falling down from sheer weakness that never rise again.

Four Polish deserters came in this morning from the Russian division opposite Balaklava. They say that they are getting very short of provisions and have been for some days on half-rations, as their supplies have not been brought up for the last fortnight from the interior, in consequence of the badness of the roads. They also told us that the artillerymen of the 3rd corps have arrived in Sevastopol from Perekop, to relieve the sailors who work the batteries, and who are quite worn out with their constant duties. They also stated that numbers of Turkish soldiers come over to the Russians from Balaklava, and that they say that we (the English) do not feed them well enough. On inquiry, I find that we give the Turks attached to our army a ration of biscuit and rice daily, and fresh meat once or twice a week according to the supply. They might have salt meat

every day, like our own troops ; but they refuse to eat it, as they fancy all salt meat is pork ! It would be impossible for our commissariat to give them fresh meat every day, without taking it from the English troops, who only have it twice or three times a week.

December 6th.—The Russians made two sorties during last night, both of which were complete failures : one—on the French trenches in the earlier part of the night, when they were driven back by our allies immediately, and so closely followed up that the French got possession for a short time of one of the enemy's advanced batteries, but, as it was of course impracticable to remain there, they soon had to return to their own works ; the casualties on either side were trifling : the other—at midnight, on the English left attack, when they endeavoured to retake the "Ovens" and rifle-pits, but were forced directly to retire by our men. They left 3 men killed on the ground, but carried off their wounded. We had 1 man killed and 2 slightly wounded.

The Russian troops in the valley of Balaklava retreated this morning to the other side of the Tchernaya river, having previously set fire to their huts,* and overturned the two old Turkish redoubts

* The Russian huts were very much of the same construction as those described in a former letter as made by our troops,

which up to this time they have occupied. This confirms to a certain extent the statements made by the deserters yesterday of the difficulties of bringing up provisions, &c.

About 1 P.M. two Russian steam-frigates (probably the "Vladimir" and "Chersonese") came out of the harbour of Sevastopol, and, turning south until they got on the flank of the French siege-works, immediately opened fire, and from their position completely enfiladed the left of the French approaches. Directly this was seen at Kamiesch Bay, an English and French steamer were ordered out to drive them off. As neither had their steam up, this, of course, took some little time; however, the English were the first to get under way, and then gave chase to the two Russians: the latter retired under cover of the guns of the forts, which opened upon us, but fortunately without a single shot taking effect. Shortly after, the Russian steamers re-entered the harbour. I understand that the damage done to the French works by the fire of these ships was but trifling, though they caused a good many casualties among their men. Colonel Simmons* (Royal Engi-

only that they were deeper and with hollowed sides, and not unfrequently large holes were burrowed underground, in which one or two men could find shelter.

* Colonel Simmons was the English commissioner attached to the head-quarters of the Ottoman army in the field.

neers) arrived here to-day from Bucharest with despatches from Omer Pasha to the allied generals. A short time ago Lord Raglan bethought himself that, if a large body of troops were to be placed at Eupatoria, it would necessarily compel the enemy to have likewise a considerable force to watch them, and that consequently it would tend to withdraw a portion of the Russian army now in the neighbourhood of Sevastopol. He therefore thought that if Omer Pasha could be induced to move his army from Bucharest and the Danube (where they are now lying inactive, and their presence no longer needed, in consequence of the arrival of the Austrian troops in the Principalities) to Eupatoria, this object would be gained. The French troops and English Marines, though not very numerous, could then be removed from there, and brought to reinforce the army before Sevastopol. General Canrobert had seen the desirability of Lord Raglan's proposal, and entirely fell into his views on every point. A despatch had accordingly been sent to Omer Pasha from the allied generals, proposing to him the above arrangements, and Colonel Simmons is now the bearer of the Turkish Marshal's answer.

December 7th.—Last night, about 8 P.M., a corporal and five men of the 55th regiment, on picket at the bottom of the Inkermann road, a few yards from the head of the harbour, were taken prisoners

by a party of the enemy. One of our soldiers contrived to escape a few minutes afterwards, and from his statement it would appear that the Russians came over the water in a boat, and our men, fancying that they were going to desert, allowed themselves to be surprised by an armed party of greater strength than their own. Lord Raglan and the Staff went to-day all round the works of Balaklava, which now present a very formidable appearance. From the extreme point of the heights to the south of the town, a magnificent view was obtained of the whole of the valley and the plateau of Mackenzie beyond. The Russian troops, now all encamped and huddled between the Tchernaya and the last-mentioned plateau, were relieved this morning by a fresh body of men : as near as we could judge, they consisted of about 7000 infantry, 28 guns, and some squadrons of Cossacks. The large force of cavalry which was in the plain of Balaklava until only a few days ago has entirely disappeared. The enemy have thrown up a strong redoubt on the farther side of the Tchernaya, to cover the Tractir bridge ; and from this it may be inferred that they have no intention of again occupying any part of the valley with their troops. A picket of Cossacks remain alone at the village of Kamara, and have two videttes on the old works on Canrobert's Hill and that west to it. The 34th regiment, 800 strong, arrived to-day at Balaklava from Corfu.

December 8th (this day).—I have just seen the parade state of the English army in the East. The grand total of all ranks is 39,360. This appears a very formidable force, but the following deductions reduce its effective strength nearly one-third, viz. :—

	Men.
Sick and wounded	10,400
Cavalry (not effective)	1,200
On command at Scutari, Varna, and other places	3,600
Total	15,200

—which only leaves 24,160 of all ranks effective : of these, 2900 belong to the Royal Artillery. So you see, in spite of the almost daily reinforcements we have received since the battle of Inkermann, amounting to upwards of 8000 British troops, we are now scarcely 5000 men stronger. The number of deaths since the same period has been very large. Last week they averaged from 80 to 100 per day ; but I am glad to say this week they are but half, being from 45 to 50 per day : this includes those killed in action and dying of wounds, but the greater portion are from cholera or diseases of that nature. Colonel Simmons goes this afternoon, and returns to Bucharest, carrying despatches to Omer Pasha from the allied generals, begging him to march as many of his troops as possible down to Varna without delay. They will be met there by English transports, which will take them direct to Eupatoria.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
December 13th, 1854.

I will treat you with some more extracts from my journal.

December 9th.—The mail from England arrived this morning, and by it we are informed that Lord Raglan is made a field-marshal: this, I need hardly say, gives universal satisfaction. It also brought us the receipt of the telegraphic despatch sent from Constantinople about the battle of Inkermann. General de Montebello, aide-de-camp to the Emperor Napoleon, arrived at Kamiesch yesterday, and to-day came up to the English Head-quarters to congratulate Lord Raglan from the Emperor upon the successes that have attended the allied armies. He has also come out to give certain decorations in the French army; but the chief object of his mission is to report on the progress of the siege. A strong reconnaissance was made by a portion of the garrison of Sevastopol this morning in the direction of the Light and 2nd Division camps, but was immediately driven off by our pickets. It was probably to ascertain the strength of our works on the field of Inkermann. During the whole day numbers of waggons and baggage-animals were brought down with different things to the water's edge on the north side of the harbour, and three steamers were seen taking

troops backwards and forwards from one side to the other. In consequence of all this there is a general impression that the enemy intend to try another attack on us to-morrow ; but Lord Raglan says, *No* ; he thinks it is merely a relief of a portion of the garrison. A flag of truce was taken by one of Lord Raglan's aides-de-camp to-day to the Russian outposts in front of Balaklava, with a letter from his Lordship to Prince Menchikoff in reply to his acknowledgment of the arrival of Captain Kousowleff, of the Russian artillery, captured by us at Mackenzie's Farm on September 25th. He has been given up in exchange for Lord Dunkellin, who you may remember was taken prisoner.

December 10th.—Soon after 5 this morning we were all turned out and got on our horses, in consequence of a report that had arrived that the Russians were advancing in large force opposite the Light Division, and to the right front of our right attack. However, it turned out to be only a false alarm. General Canrobert and General Bosquet each came, with their respective staffs and escorts *en grande tenue*, to the English Head-quarters, to pay Lord Raglan a visit of ceremony and to congratulate him on being made a field-marshal ; also to thank him for the handsome manner in which he had spoken of them in his despatch of the battle of Inkermann, of which it appears they were informed

by a telegraphic communication from the French Government. In the afternoon Lord Raglan rode through several of the English camps ; and as before this time the general order informing the army of his advancement had been made known to them, the men off duty crowded round and cheered him wherever he went.

December 11th.—A telegraphic message in cipher arrived from the Duke of Newcastle, viâ Vienna, Bucharest, and Constantinople, informing Lord Raglan that intelligence from an authentic source has reached the English war minister, that “ Prince Menchikoff has reported to the Emperor of Russia that he has had 800 men at work for the last three months constructing mines in every part of Sevastopol, and that the whole town is now like a charged shell.” Last night and to-day it has been clear and frosty, so that several heavy guns and mortars which have lately arrived were brought up from Balaklava to the artillery park of the left attack.

December 12th.—During last night the enemy made two sorties, one upon the French trenches, and the other upon us ; the former was partially successful, as they penetrated into their advanced parallel, spiked several guns, and carried off a small mortar. The French covering-parties, on coming up, drove the enemy back to their works : the loss of men on either side was but trifling. The sortie

upon us was made very early in the morning by a strong body of infantry coming up the Woronzoff road, doubtless with the intention of getting between our two attacks, and then taking them in reverse : fortunately our pickets stationed on the road saw them in good time, and, opening a brisk fire upon the advancing column, made them retire in a hurry. We had only one casualty, that of a private who was slightly wounded. What the Russian loss was it is impossible to state, as they carried off whatever men were killed or wounded. Lord Raglan rode this afternoon to one of the advanced posts of the French, in front of the Maison d'Eau, from whence he could obtain a good general view of both English and French trenches, and also of the enemy's works round the town.

December 13th (this day).—All the ordnance for the left attack was reported as having been brought up to the left siege-train, consisting of 36 guns and 10 mortars. The last few days have been fine, which has reduced the sickness in the army considerably, and enabled us to bring up a large quantity of stores, &c., from Balaklava. I forgot to mention to you before that General Airey, Quartermaster General, has been very ill with fever, and is reduced to a very weak state ; but I am glad to say that his recovery seems now probable, which was more than doubted a few days ago. In spite of his

sufferings, he has continued to direct the business of his office, instead of leaving it entirely to subordinate officers. However, his illness has been a great loss to the army, as his unceasing energy and indefatigable exertions have been wanting in many arrangements connected with his department, and which invariably go on more satisfactorily when superintended by the chief of the office. This is a short letter, but my time is fully occupied, besides which, there is nothing of importance to relate.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
December 18th, 1854.

Journal again.

December 14th.—Raining the whole day, with a good deal of fog. Two privates of the Guards were taken prisoners this afternoon by some Cossacks in the plain of Balaklava. It appears that four guardsmen started from the town and thought to make a short cut to their camp by crossing the valley instead of keeping to the usual track inside our lines, and, when in the plain, they mistook their road in the fog, and were all at once attacked by four Cossacks, and, as none of our men were armed, they could make no defence. Two escaped, but the others were taken off by the Cossacks, who put cords round their necks and led them away in that undignified manner. An hour

or so after this two deserters came in to Balaklava from their camp by the Tchernaya ; they said they had met the two guardsmen being taken into the Russian camp. They had but little information to give us, except accounts of the privations the Russian troops were suffering from the want of supplies of every description, caused by the wretchedness of the weather and bad state of the roads. They said that enormous field-hospitals for several thousand men had been established in the woods over the Belbec river north of Sevastopol, in consequence of the impossibility of transporting the sick and wounded to Batchi-Serai and Simferopol, where the main general hospitals were situated.

December 15th.—Rain again all day without intermission. The 89th regiment, 670 strong, arrived this morning at Balaklava from Malta. A private of the 62nd deserted over to the Russians, by Inkermann ; our sentries allowed him to pass them, as he said he was going to cut wood : he contrived to creep down to the bank of the Tchernaya, which he crossed, and then ran towards the Russian outposts. He was not observed by our sentries until he had passed the river, and was then quite out of musket-range. The blackguard was afterwards seen shaking hands with the Cossacks and walking off with them. Two soldiers of the French infantry tried to desert about the same time from the rear of our position across the valley of

Balaklava. However, they were seen and pursued by a picket of cavalry, which speedily caught and brought them back to their lines: one was immediately shot, and the other is, I understand, to be also executed this evening.

December 16th.—Late last night it began to snow, and this morning the ground is covered with it to the depth of three or four inches. It rained or hailed almost the entire day; everything looks most wretched and miserable. The trenches were reported to be in a dreadful state, and at places almost untenable, in consequence of the snow and rain. I had to go through a large portion of them in the course of the day, and at some places the water was nearly four feet deep, so that it was absolutely impracticable for the men to wade through it. Endeavours were being made, under the direction of officers of the Engineers, to drain these places; but great difficulties present themselves in so doing, especially as it is almost impossible to cut any drain or trench outside the parapet, without drawing down the fire from the enemy's batteries. A Polish deserter (a sailor) came over to the camp early this morning from Sevastopol, and he gave us the comfortable information that the Russians have 115 heavy ship-guns in the batteries round the Malakoff Tower, ready to open upon us! This, however, is doubtless a very great exaggeration; probably half that number will prove to be the outside. The

17th regiment, 735 strong, arrived at Balaklava from Gibraltar.

December 17th.—A long memorandum was sent to all the Generals of Division to be prepared for an attack from the enemy to-morrow morning, as in the Greek Church it is the feast of the patron saint of Russia, and, from information received from our spies, it was thought very likely that the Russian officers might so far work upon the religious feeling of their men to make them attack us again with more than usual animosity. I doubt this reasoning myself, as, if they were to fail, it would be at once a finish to their ever working upon their superstitious enthusiasm. Lord Raglan visited to-day the 2nd Division, and afterwards made a careful reconnaissance of the ground between the field of Inkermann and the Careening Bay ravine. He has much wished for some time past to break ground against the town on this side, as he has always held the opinion, first pointed out by Sir John Burgoyne, that the key of Sevastopol is at the Malakoff Tower. However, the French Engineers have always insisted that the key of the town is at the Bastion du Mât, and unfortunately the small number of the British will not allow of their investing more of the town than they do at the present time; consequently this ground has not from the first been occupied by us, save by a *cordon* of pickets and sentries. General Airey was able to leave his room

to-day for the first time since his illness, and resume, to a certain extent, his more active duties.

December 18th.—H. M. S. "Royal Albert," 120 guns (screw line-of-battle ship), arrived with 700 men, drafts for the brigade of Guards, and 500 men, drafts for regiments of the line. Everything on the Russian side has continued quite quiet all day : indeed, rather more than usually so, as they have scarce fired a shot, so that our apprehensions of an attack were unnecessary. I fear this week has been unusually trying to our poor men, who have suffered dreadfully from the want of proper clothing to protect them from the continued wet and cold, especially as regards great-coats and boots ; as you know the former were all lost in the "Prince," and, although there are immense quantities of the latter in store, I understand that out of each of the packages of 80 pair, not more than from 8 to 12 pair are found large enough for the use of the troops. This does not show much forethought on the part of the authorities at home. The want of these two articles of apparel has, I fear, indirectly caused the deaths of numbers of our men, as nothing appears out here so likely to produce cholera as being continually cold and damp. It is quite impossible to speak in too high terms of the admirable manner in which the British troops have gone through this most trying campaign: the work they have done, and done cheerfully, in the midst of great

hardships and privations, is wonderful, and reflects, I think, the greatest credit on the discipline of the English army.

I have never mentioned to you a story that was told of Sir Edmund Lyons and the Port-Admiral of Sevastopol, Admiral Istomine. It appears that Sir Edmund, when English Minister at Athens, had been very intimate with Admiral Istomine, who was there in a like capacity from the Russian Government. A few days ago a flag of truce was sent into Sevastopol from the fleet to return Captain Kousowleff, who had just come up from Constantinople, where he had been a prisoner. Sir Edmund Lyons thought he would send Admiral Istomine a present of a Cheshire cheese, and accompanied his gift with a little note, saying, he was sorry they were on their present terms, but, knowing his partiality for English cheese, took this opportunity of sending one, instead of a round shot! Three days ago a flag of truce came in from Sevastopol to our fleet, about some English sailors who had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the hurricane of the 14th of November. Admiral Istomine at the same time sent to Sir Edmund Lyons a roebuck, in return for the cheese, and also a letter, thanking Sir Edmund for remembering him, and saying he often thought of the old and happier days they had passed at Athens together, and the numerous battles at whist which

they had fought. He said he had *heard* the splendid "Agamemnon" on the 17th of October last, but there was too much smoke for him to see her on that day; he trusted Sir Edmund Lyons admired the bravery of the Russian sailors, as much as he (the Russian Admiral) did that of the English; and he only regretted they had not the opportunity of shaking hands once more, but he hoped that the day might yet come. These little civilities between two great chiefs of the contending powers form a striking contrast to the destructive system of war which daily goes on between us here.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
December 23rd, 1854.

In reply to your query "why the Allies have not taken possession of Perekop," as has been often suggested in the public prints, I should say that it would have been quite impracticable to have attempted anything of the sort up to the present time. It would require a considerable force to hold a position where we should be liable to be attacked both in front and rear; and I believe the depth of water on this side the isthmus would not be sufficient for us to be assisted by ships of war acting on our flank. Had we gunboats or vessels of light draught,

it might possibly be practicable. As to landing any force south of Perekop, where a disembarkation could be effected, and then marching up to the isthmus in question, such a movement would be impossible under existing circumstances; for it would be necessary to have a large baggage-train to carry provisions, ammunition, &c.; and as we have never had sufficient land-carriage even to transport from Balaklava the requirements of the troops on the Plateau, it is very evident that we could not have spared any quantity of waggons or baggage-animals to undertake an expedition of this nature; and the French, although far better off in this respect than we are, still have no quantity of transport for an operation of this kind. Even supposing that Perekop was in the hands of the Allies, it is quite a mistaken idea to fancy that the communication between Russia and the Crimea would be cut off, as they have two other great roads, one—by Genitsch, along the isthmus of Arabat, which, although rather a roundabout way of getting to the interior, is one nevertheless much used by the Russians; the other—by the southern extremity of the peninsula of Metschetlii Adasii and the village of Yankara, across a small portion of the Putrid Sea; this road has been constructed but a short time, and is carried over the sea on a raised causeway and floating bridge. The particulars of this road we learnt from Tartars, and they have been

confirmed by soldiers and others who entered the Crimea by that route.

Your remarks as regards the distance of our batteries from the works round the town are perfectly true. No doubt it has been an error not to have constructed them much nearer, but many difficulties presented themselves, especially as regards the formation of the ground ; besides, it was thought the heavy ordnance which the English in particular have employed in this siege would remedy that evil : however, this has certainly not answered the expectations formed with reference to their effect upon the immense earthen batteries of the enemy. The Russians have every advantage on their side : they have a very large garrison, which is perpetually being relieved and reinforced by fresh troops from the north side : they consequently can always repair their works, so that, if any battery gets knocked about during the day, by the following morning it is in as good a state of preservation as before. During the last fortnight they have been strengthening very much all their batteries, and have widened and deepened the ditch outside their line of defence, so that it now presents a very formidable obstacle to get over, in the event of our making an assault. It is now proposed to move our batteries more forward, but this cannot be done until the weather is somewhat settled, although we daily push on a few yards. The enemy continue to

pound us a good deal at night, but during the day little or nothing goes on: the truth is, that they do not like exposing their artillerymen to the fire of our *miniés* in the advanced musketry trench.

Late on the night of the 20th the Russians made a strong sortie from the town in two columns, one on each of our different attacks: that against our left attack came on with considerable noise and shouting, and with bugles sounding and drums beating. They were speedily repulsed by portions of the 38th and 50th regiments, who drove them back with considerable loss: we too suffered severely. The attack on our right attack was made in perfect silence by the Russian troops, who, favoured by the intense darkness of the night, succeeded in arriving to within a few yards of our trenches before they were discovered. Our men (part of the 34th regiment), completely taken by surprise, fell back before the enemy, who got into our advanced parallel: however, they did not remain there above a few minutes, as the covering party of a portion of the 97th regiment came up, and together with that of the 34th advanced and re-took the parallel. Our loss, however, was heavy considering: Major Möller, killed; Captain Frampton and Lieutenant Clarke, 50th regiment, and Lieutenant Byron, 34th regiment, taken prisoners; 4 men killed and 13 wounded. This is the only thing of importance that has occurred lately.

There was an alarm this morning (23rd) that a

large body of the enemy had marched from the north side of Sevastopol to their troops on the other side of the Tchernaya, it was thought with the intention of attacking Balaklava. All our troops were turned out, but it was unnecessary, as the movement by the enemy proved to be only a relief. You never saw anything like the weather, nothing but wet day after day, so that there is but little chance of the health of the army improving. However, great quantities of warm clothes and other stores have arrived at Balaklava, but the difficulty is to get them up to the front. Among these latter are 50,000 blankets. The consumption of this article of covering is something prodigious. I understand that, since we have been in the Crimea, no less than 32,000 blankets have been expended, independent of those the men brought with them. This is chiefly in consequence of the immense numbers used in the field-hospitals, and the impossibility of their being properly cleansed. I am sorry to say the deaths have been so numerous in the army, that the number of blankets used as winding-sheets has been very large.

Lord Raglan has received an intimation from the Government that they intend sending 300 navvies to make a railroad from Balaklava to the front; and there are to be stationary engines on different parts of the line: he is also informed that it will be in a fit state to bring provisions, &c., up to the Plateau three weeks after they commence operations. In the mean

time they have not arrived, although Lord Raglan is told that they were to be here by the 20th. The Government must have a very strange idea of the state of the country, if they fancy that 300 navvies, with all their appliances to boot, can construct any sort of railroad from Balaklava to the Plateau, a distance of four miles, in three weeks! I will answer for it they will be nearer three months: or if, on the other hand, they expect us to find the labour for this work, it will be of but little assistance to the army for some time, as every man here is over-worked. In spite of the inclemency of the weather, Lord Raglan has been out for the last two days, visiting the different field-hospitals, and in justice to the medical department I think I ought to state that, considering the perpetual wet, and the difficulties of keeping them in a cleanly state, they are in as good order as our unfortunate circumstances will admit. Admiral Dundas set off on the afternoon of the 20th for the Bosphorus, where the "Britannia" now is: he returns home immediately. Sir Edmund Lyons, who succeeds him in command, hoists his flag on board the "Royal Albert."

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
December 30th, 1854.

We have been having, since I last wrote, thorough Christmas weather; a little snow at night, but, generally speaking, bright, frosty days. I think the men

appear to hail this weather with delight, as, at any rate, they have no difficulty in making fires, and thus are able to cook their fare, which, Heaven knows, is not too luxurious, poor fellows! Another great advantage of frosty weather is, that we are enabled to bring up large supplies of warm clothing and provisions and huts from Balaklava, so that I am glad to say that our men are better off now than they have been for the last month.

Yesterday the 18th regiment, 1100 strong, arrived at Balaklava direct from Dublin. They are all dressed in the new winter clothing, with fur caps and high boots; so I hope they will not suffer from going into camp at this time of the year, which must be very trying to men who have been accustomed to warm, comfortable habitations. The sickness in the army, I regret to say, continues very great. As an instance I may quote that this month the 3rd division has lost over 400 men: the other divisions have suffered in proportion almost as much, but it can scarcely be wondered at when you consider the hardships the men have to encounter. A man is said to have died of the cold in the trenches on Christmas night; this was the first really severe frost that we have had. It killed many animals; 26 horses in the heavy cavalry brigade and 3 (?) in the light and some 6 or 7 in the Royal Artillery were found dead in the morning, and I understand upwards of 50 baggage-animals.

The mail which arrived on the 26th brought us out the promotions and rewards for the campaign. The fortunate ones are of course delighted, but there are numbers who grumble at not being remembered. I have read with great interest the speeches in both Houses of Parliament upon the "carrying on the war." The Government proposal to engage foreigners, as soldiers to serve in the British army, will be, I should think, a most unpopular movement. *We* see daily how little faith can be placed in the services of men who have no other interest than their pay to make them fight. The French have here two battalions of their *Légion Etrangère*, which is a corps they raised some years ago for service in Algeria. I remember when travelling there, this time two years, hearing some of their officers say that the authorities had so little confidence in their foreign corps, that they were only used to garrison the unhealthy stations; and certainly I recollect myself finding them in two of the most out-of-the-way and least agreeable localities in the whole country. I also hear from French officers that numbers have deserted over to the enemy; two were caught in the act, and have been shot: and I was told the other day by one of their staff-officers, a man of considerable rank and standing, that it had been a question whether it would not be wiser to send these two battalions back to Algeria, and that General Canrobert

would have done so had not the want of troops been so great.

On the 28th I had rather an interesting interview with a Russian officer. I received orders in the morning to go with a flag of truce to Inkermann to give over some letters and money from Russian prisoners, and also letters and money to some English officers who are in the hands of the enemy. As there is no trumpeter attached to the escort at Headquarters, and the cavalry are some way off near Balaklava, I was directed to take a trumpeter from one of the batteries of artillery nearest Inkermann, and to manufacture a flag as best I could. Accordingly, I started, mounted on my best horse, and in my best attire : I got a trumpet-boy from Major Morris's battery ; he also lent me a towel, which we fastened to the end of the *side* of a stretcher : this the trumpet-boy carried, and we started together down the Inkermann road. Directly we got up to our advanced sentries, I told the boy to sound, upon which he favoured us with the "stable-call," and, no notice being taken of us by the Russian sharpshooters at the ruins of Inkermann, we trotted on down the road, which takes a winding course to the bridge over the Tchernaya, sounding several times on our way. I had hardly arrived there before I observed two horsemen approaching me from the other side of the valley along the causeway ; they proved to be

two Russian officers, and, when a few yards off, one advanced alone. I did the same, and we continued approaching one another, until we each stood on the opposite sides of the river (for the Russians had broken down the bridge after they had retreated over it on the 5th of November). We both made profound bows, and I then stated in French the object of my coming, and, as it was not possible to throw either the letters or money across, the Russian officer said it would be necessary to send for a boat from one of their ships-of-war in the harbour, which would come up the river to where we stood. He accordingly despatched the other officer with orders to that effect: he told me that I should have to wait for nearly an hour before a boat could arrive; we therefore both dismounted, and sat on the edge of the broken bridge, holding our horses. We looked at one another for some minutes without speaking; but it struck me that this was an unsociable way of spending an hour, and I thought I might as well try and get into conversation; so I began by making the truly British remark that it was a fine day; to which he replied, "Thanks to God, it is." Then a long pause ensued, which I again tried to break by telling him that I had the pleasure of knowing several Russian officers, whom I named and asked after. This rather thawed him; he appeared a good deal astonished that I had any

Russian acquaintances, and we were soon in animated conversation. He told me he was a colonel of cavalry on the staff, and had command of the outposts, and had been present at all the battles. He said he admired the English troops very much, that he thought the Guards were the finest infantry in the world, but that the Russian artillery was superior to the English. This, of course, I could hardly admit, although in the scientific part of that arm I think they are quite equal, if not superior to us. I should tell you that during this time a pretty brisk fire was going on from the Russian battery close to the lighthouse above the end of the harbour, against a work which the French are constructing to counteract the effects of this very battery. It so happened that, just after my Russian friend had been extolling his artillery, two shells were fired and both exploded far short of the mark. We were both watching the flight of these missiles during our conversation, so when I saw this bad firing I laughed, and asked my friend if that was a specimen of their practice. He took it very good-naturedly, and said we often made quite as bad shots from our batteries. He spoke in anything but praise of our allies; laughed at the Turks, and said the French infantry were inferior to the Russian. Possibly this may have been said to please me, or try and get my opinion. Shortly after we descried a boat in the distance pulling towards

us, so he said, "Here comes the boat from the 'Vladimir' steamer." "Ah!" I replied, "I know the 'Vladimir'; I have been on board her before now at Nicholaieff." This astonished him not a little, and he said that it seemed I had been everywhere. I then told him I had travelled through Russia, and had always received the greatest civility and kindness from his countrymen, and should entertain the most pleasant remembrances of my sojourn amongst them. This seemed to please him greatly, and he said, "The Russians like the English much; we ought never to have gone to war with you, but it was the will of God." The boat soon arrived; from its size it was evidently a barge, and the crew of 14 men were very smartly dressed in blue jerseys with red edgings. The Russian colonel came across to me, and I gave him the letters, &c., and after shaking hands we parted with mutual expressions of hope that we should meet again before long. I then returned to the camp. I have given you this long account of my interview, as it was the first time I have ever been with a flag of truce, and I hope it may not be the last. Pray accept all the compliments of the season, although by-the-bye, you will receive them rather after time.

CHAPTER XI.

Strength of the English army, January 1st, 1855 — French reconnaissance — Sufferings of troops from cold — Arrival of Omer Pasha — Bashi-Bazouks — "Rows" in Sevastopol — Russian convicts — Lord Raglan visits the camps — Mortality in 63rd regiment — English and Russian sentries fraternize — Huts — Article in the 'Times' of December 23rd — Sortie of the garrison on the lines of the Allies — Russian deserters — Suicide of an English soldier — Flag of truce — Submarine telegraph — Grumbling of the Guards — False statement of the 'Times' — Change of weather — Rather a droll story — Lord Raglan's kindness — Sufferings of Russian troops — Sortie — The lasso — The French relieve the English on the right at Inkermann — Fine weather — Grumbling letters from the camp — Their false accusations against Lord Raglan contradicted and disproved — The daily labour of the commander-in-chief — The English and French staffs — Captain Derriman's tea-shed at Balaklava — Arrival of first detachment of navvies — Lady nurses — Lord Raglan inspects the trenches.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
January 1st, 1855.

For some unknown reason the mail goes from here a day earlier than usual. These frequent changes are a great bore, and also the uncertainty with which the letters arrive. Doubtless now the inclemency of the weather has much to do with it. There is also at times some difficulty about the delivery of the English mails in the Crimea; they, generally speaking, arrive by the French steamers, and, from an extraordinary piece of parsimony on the part of the

Government, the bags from Constantinople to the Crimea are left to take care of themselves, instead of being sent in charge of a special messenger; so it has not unfrequently happened that all or a portion of the bags have been detained at Kamiesch for a day or more, until the French authorities chose to give us notice of their arrival. It may interest you to have an idea of the strength of the British army on the 1st of the new year. The following is a general summary, which I made from the parade state this morning :—

	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Regimental Staff.	Sergeants, Drummers, Trumpeters.	Men fit for Duty.	Sick.		On Command.
							Present.	Absent.	
Cavalry ...	6	14	23	20	149	762	111	237	41
Artillery...	6	54	59	18	477	2421	450	510	62
Sappers & } Miners . }	2	3	23	4	45	503	60	31	0
Infantry ...	76	190	407	197	2372	19,948	3330	8128	1684
Total...	90	261	512	239	3043	23,634	3951	8906	1787

Besides these there are the soldier-servants of the officers and the clerks in the different military offices, amounting to 1331 men, which gives a grand total of 43,754 men of the English army in the East.

Nothing of importance has occurred since my letter of the 30th ultimo; but on the morning of that day the French made a reconnaissance in force.

It was composed of a division of infantry, two regiments of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and two batteries of artillery. A regiment of Highlanders and a wing of the 2nd battalion Rifle brigade were ordered by Sir Colin Campbell to march from the Marine Heights, on the east of Balaklava harbour, to the hills overlooking the village of Kamara and the entrance to the valley of Baidar. They remained there in support the greater portion of the day, without taking any active part in the reconnaissance. By 7 A.M. the French troops passed the village of Kamara, but, that being completely deserted, they pushed on with rapidity to the village of Tchorgoum. They met with no resistance until within a short distance of this place, the Cossack videttes retiring before the skirmishers of the French infantry. However, on nearing Tchorgoum, a largish body of Russian light cavalry presented themselves; one of the regiments of Chasseurs d'Afrique advanced and charged them. The Russians stood their ground until ridden in upon by the French, who broke them, and then chased them back towards the village. As the French cavalry got close to it they were received by a heavy fire from the Russian artillery on the heights above. Our allies, therefore, had to withdraw until their guns were brought up, when the enemy retired, leaving Tchorgoum to the French, who immediately occupied it. But little worth

taking was found in the place, so they set it on fire, and in the course of a couple of hours nothing remained of the snug little hamlet but a few blackened walls. The French returned late in the afternoon, having accomplished their object of ascertaining the force of the enemy, which apparently consisted of about 3000 infantry, 5 or 6 squadrons of cavalry, and 2 batteries of artillery. The French had 2 officers wounded (one mortally) and 14 men. The Russians left 5 dead on the field, and lost 6 men, who were made prisoners by the French. The following night there was a heavy fall of snow, so that on the morning of the 31st the ground was covered to a depth of four or five inches, but, during the day a drizzling rain coming on, it all melted, and by the evening nothing remained of it but a deep slush, which, I need hardly remark, added not a little to the discomfort of every one in camp. To-day (1st) is gloomy and raw, and looks as if it was going to snow again.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
January 6th, 1855.

It is bitterly cold, the thermometer down at 21° Fahrenheit; the snow upwards of a foot deep, and drifting with a high wind in a manner that nearly blinds one. The troops suffer dreadfully from it;

every endeavour is being made to get them under better shelter than canvas tents. The wooden huts have arrived in great numbers at Balaklava, but, unfortunately, their great weight renders it a service of considerable difficulty bringing them up to the plateau. I cannot say they are very cleverly constructed, as the smallest packages are 4 cwt., so that nothing but large waggons can carry them unless each package is broken up and divided into smaller portions. This, of course, is very inconvenient, and there is a greater chance of pieces being lost. As a set-off to this severe weather, I am glad to say that the cholera has abated to a great extent, but many men have gone into hospital frostbitten, chiefly in the feet. This is probably caused, to a great extent, by the wretched manner in which the troops are shod. The only boots which they have at present are the ordinary regulation pattern, or what are called "ammunition" boots. These are made by contract, and are of inferior material, and I have heard many men complain that in the bad weather we have lately had they are completely worn out in the course of a week. I am told that the whole army is to receive in course of time a pair of high boots up to the knee, something after the pattern of those used by the Russians, and, like them, to be worn with the trousers tucked inside the leg of the boot.

I see from the newspapers that the reaction against

the English army has already begun. I thought the outcry in our favour was too great to last. The 'Times' seems to abuse everything and everybody out here, and to pooh-pooh the difficulties with which the commissariat have to contend, and to find fault with the endeavours made by the authorities, who, I am sure, do all in their power, as far as circumstances will admit, to alleviate the overwork and consequent sufferings of the soldiers.

Omer Pasha arrived here two days ago, and yesterday had a long interview with Lord Raglan, chiefly about the transport of his army from Varna to Eupatoria. At the present moment there are upwards of 16,000 Turkish troops in garrison at Eupatoria, the greater portion of whom have arrived during the last fortnight; and, if we can give more transport, Omer Pasha promised Lord Raglan that in the course of a month he would have 45,000 men there. I do not think the allied generals expect much from these Turkish troops, except as making a diversion in our favour; indeed already the enemy have sent a very large cavalry force to the neighbourhood of Eupatoria, the head-quarters of which are at Sak. They have established a *cordon* round Eupatoria, at a distance of two miles from the town. It consists of a line of double videttes, from 50 to 60 yards apart, and it is said that this duty alone takes no less than 1200 cavalry; and in such weather as

we have at present they must suffer very much, especially as on the steppes the cold is more severe than in hilly country, such as that round Sevastopol.

I am sorry to hear that the Government have an idea of forming a corps of Bashi-bazouks. I am perfectly convinced that they will never be an efficient body of troops, and, from their propensity to plunder friend or foe, whenever they get the opportunity, they will only bring discredit on the British arms. If irregular cavalry are to be used in our service, surely it would be the easiest mode, and certainly the cheapest, to bring formed regiments of irregular cavalry from India. I believe a Bashi-bazouk by nature is a coward; at least, I have never seen an instance to the contrary yet, nor heard of one either. I know Omer Pasha, who has had greater opportunities, perhaps, than any one else of judging of these ruffians, entertains the profoundest contempt for them as troops in the field; and, as a proof of this, I may mention that when he crossed the Danube, and entered with his army into the Principalities, he would not allow any of the Bashi-bazouks to accompany him, as he said they would only murder and rob the inhabitants. He now says the only advantage that can be derived from the English enlisting any number of these men is, that it will prevent them prowling about and living by extortion, as many do. I am perfectly

aware that a strict and rigid discipline works wonders with the worst of characters, but it requires time—a twelvemonth at the least; whereas we could get any number of irregular cavalry from India in the course of three months, and men who have been accustomed to war, and who have acted in the field with English troops, and have entire confidence in British officers.

Omer Pasha leaves Balaklava this afternoon, with his staff, in H. M. S. "Inflexible" (steam-frigate), for Eupatoria, where he takes command of the garrison. A deserter, who came in a few days ago from the town, said that there were frequent rows between the troops and convicts in Sevastopol. It appears that the latter have been allowed to go at large, as they volunteered to work at the batteries, &c. Three days ago Sir John Campbell (commanding the 4th Division) told me that the night before he had heard, when in our trenches, a great deal of musketry-firing and shouting going on in the town, and part of the time they could see the flashes in the streets. It was quite evident that there was a great riot among the garrison; doubtless it was some disturbance created by the convicts. Calvert told me the following story of one of these Russian forçats, who appear to be desperate fellows. About two years ago, a gang being at work in the dock-yard of Sevastopol, one of them attacked a passer-

by without any provocation, knocked him down, smashed in his face with the manacles on his hands, then jumped upon and trampled him to death. The act had been so sudden that the occurrence could not be prevented. It was thought by the authorities that so brutal a murder should be visited with some peculiar punishment, as an example to the others, for, if the man was hung or shot immediately, the circumstance would soon be forgotten. The case was made known to the Emperor Nicholas, who, on hearing of it, ordered an iron wheelbarrow to be made, and chains from its legs to be attached to those of the man. This was accordingly done, and, of course, the man could not move a yard without wheeling it in front of him. It is said that a week after he had been thus punished he begged to be put to death, as it made his life a burden to him. This, of course, was not listened to, and three months after the wretched man died, raving mad ! It was a novel but horrible punishment.

An extract or two from my Journal :—

January 3rd.—It rained in torrents all last night, but early this morning it turned into snow, which fell in considerable quantities. Captain Swinton, R.A., commanding one of the batteries attached to the 3rd Division, was found dead in his tent this morning ; he is supposed to have died in a fit of apoplexy, possibly brought on from having a brazier of charcoal

burning in his tent all night. It continued snowing all day: nevertheless Lord Raglan went out in the afternoon, and visited the 3rd and 4th Division camps. It was bitterly cold; the men, however, appeared in good spirits, and the 9th regiment turned out and cheered Lord Raglan when he came to their camp.

January 4th.—The snow by this morning was nearly a foot deep, and it continued falling without cessation the whole day. The cold, however, was not so great, the thermometer being 31° Fahrenheit. Omer Pasha arrived at Balaklava this afternoon in H.M.S. "Inflexible." Colonel Simmons, R.E., came up to Headquarters to announce his arrival to Lord Raglan.

January 5th.—Much snow fell during the night, and it was freezing hard all this day; the glass down at 21° Fahrenheit. Lord Raglan went out riding in the morning, and visited the Light Division camp; he talked to a good many of the men, who appeared very cheery, and all said they liked the cold weather better than the wet. During Lord Raglan's absence Omer Pasha came up to Headquarters, where he remained the greater portion of the day, having a long private conversation with Lord Raglan; and later a council of war was held of the allied generals.

January 6th.—This day, although fine, is very cold, with a cutting wind. Lord Raglan went out, and rode to the 3rd Division camp: he visited all

the different regiments, and talked especially to the men. They looked a good deal pinched and pulled by the cold, but appeared in good spirits. Lord Raglan, with his usual kindness and forethought, has been oftener lately to the 3rd Division than any other, on account of the extreme sickness which has prevailed in it. An officer of the 9th Regiment (a Mr. Dent) was found frozen to death early this morning near the French ambulance, not far from our Head-quarters. It appears that he had leave to go down to Balaklava yesterday morning, and, returning in the evening to camp, was overtaken by the darkness, and lost his way, and was consequently out all night. Some of our regiments are reduced to a mere fraction from sickness and other causes: the 63rd regiment had only 52 rank and file fit for duty in this morning's parade state.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
January 9th, 1855.

The cold is not so severe to-day as when I last wrote, although the thermometer is lower; but there is not a breath of air, and consequently one does not feel it. The regiment I mentioned to you as having suffered so much (63rd) is now reduced to only 7 men! It came out from England, 1080 strong, with the rest of the 4th Division, which, as you may re-

member, never landed at Varna, but arrived off that town a day or two before the expedition to the Crimea started. At the battle of the Alma they were not engaged; at Inkermann they had 113 casualties; and, allowing for as many more in the trenches, they will have lost 850 men from sickness. I fear much of this is from want of proper attention and care on the part of the officers. There are some strange stories about of the slovenly manner in which they have conducted themselves; and inquiries have been ordered to be instituted to ascertain the reasons of this.

It is strange that the severity of the weather should have led to the English and Russian sentries fraternising. It was in this way: a few nights ago, when it was very cold, our men on sentry in front of Inkermann observed several Russian soldiers coming towards them without arms, and they naturally supposed them to be deserters; but, on their approaching nearer, they made signs that they wanted a light for their pipes, which one of our men gave them, and then they stayed a few minutes talking to our sentries, or rather trying to do so, the conversation being something after this wise:—

1st Russian soldier.—“Englise bono!”

1st English soldier.—“Ruskie bono!”

2nd Russian soldier.—“Francis bono!”

2nd English soldier.—“Bono!”

3rd Russian soldier.—“Oslem no bono!”

3rd English soldier.—“Ah, ah! Turk no bono!”

1st Russian soldier.—“Oslem!” making a face, and spitting on the ground, to show his contempt.

1st English soldier.—“Turk!” pretending to run away, as if frightened, upon which all the party go into roars of laughter, and then, after shaking hands, they retire to their respective beats.

I hear, a night or two ago, after one of these little conversations, some of the Russian sentries brought our men some firewood, of which they stood much in need. You may now see the English and Russian sentries, at a distance of some 60 or 80 yards apart, trotting up and down their beats to keep themselves warm, without thinking for a moment of molesting one another; whereas, only a few days ago, the sentries on both sides were always crouching down behind the bushes, and, if either saw his enemy, *bang* went his rifle, and probably he either killed or wounded him. This sort of fighting is perfectly useless, and is only an unnecessary sacrifice of life. The following are extracts from my journal:—

January 7th.—The thermometer was down at 18° Fahrenheit this morning at daybreak. Lord Raglan and his Staff rode down to the cavalry camp near Kadakoi: the stables for the horses are getting on slowly, but after every severe night numbers of horses are found dead in the morning.

January 8th.—A bright, clear day; the sun shone out so much that one did not feel the cold, though the thermometer was at 24° Fahrenheit in the shade. Early in the morning Lord Raglan, accompanied by the Staff, rode down to Balaklava: he went through the general hospital, which appeared as comfortable as could be expected and beautifully clean. He afterwards went up to the horse artillery camp, near the head of the harbour, to see their new stables and some huts. These stables have been constructed by the sailors and carpenters of some of the ships-of-war and transports in the harbour: they are made of a framework of spars and wood that belonged to the ships wrecked in the hurricane, and are covered over with old sail-cloth, which I understood they had great difficulty in procuring. These stables are built in a sheltered spot, so that it is hoped they may last out the winter; canvas stretched across spars will soon wear itself into holes, if in an exposed position where the action of the wind would cause it to chafe. The huts seem pretty good, but the whole of them being fastened together by nails, instead of being joined by screws, will render them unfit to be moved to any other spot; also the sides are made of very thin planking, so that almost every other nail driven through them splits the board, which of course lets in the cold and wet. However, it is proposed, as far as practicable,

to line them inside with felt or old blankets. The weight of these huts is certainly a great drawback, as it requires so much labour to bring them to the front. It strikes me that they would be just as good if the sides were from 18 inches to 2 feet lower, as there is no occasion for the men to stand close in to the side, and it would make the difference of at least half a ton in their weight. Lord Raglan afterwards inspected the 18th regiment, the last arrived from England: they had all fur caps and gloves, and, although a fine-looking set of men, they are said to be rather a wild lot. Riding home, we saw a gun fired from the redoubt in front of Kadakoi at three Cossacks, who, it appeared, were trying to overtake a Russian soldier, deserting over to us. The shell burst amongst the Cossacks, who immediately scampered off, apparently unhurt, though our artillerymen declared one of them was wounded. The deserter shortly after got into our lines, but gave us no information worth recording. Last night the enemy made a sortie of 300 men on the French trenches, and some 20 got inside their advanced batteries. However, they paid dearly for their temerity, as the French repulsed them vigorously, killed some 15, and wounded, it is supposed, twice as many more, 18 of whom remain now in their hands. The French state their loss as only 8 or 9 wounded (?).

January 9th.—This day Lord Raglan visited

the 3rd Division, and went through the general field and regimental hospitals ; I regret to say that in this division alone there are no less than 964 men sick in camp. It has been thawing since the morning, so that once more the ground is covered with mud and slush knee-deep.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
January 12th, 1855.

. I have not as yet received any of the warm clothing you have sent me from home ; the transport in which they are, the " Gottenburg," has been in Bala-klava harbour for the last four days, but unfortunately, as is not unfrequently the case, the small parcels are at the bottom of the ship, with some 20 tons of huts above, and I hear from the master that he will not be able to get them for some days to come. I am getting dreadfully hard up for winter clothing, especially for boots, having nothing left but two pair of thin patent leather ones of my own, which I never expected to use, and were put up with my things by accident. However, they are better than nothing, although not well adapted for going about in this dreadful mud. As I have to go down on duty to Kamiesch this afternoon, B—— has been kind enough to lend me a pair of his, which are rather superior to my own flimsy things.

The article of the 'Times' of the 23rd December, against Lord Raglan and his staff, has caused considerable commotion at Head-quarters. Lord Raglan, knowing as he does how totally false the whole tenour of the article is, treats it with the contempt it merits, and says it is nothing more than what any and every public man always gets when he does his best to serve his country, but he was very indignant at the attack made on his personal staff, and said, "I never heard but one opinion about them." It is very easy for a man to sit down in England, and write an article against everybody in authority in the Crimea, without knowing one half the difficulties with which they have to contend.

January 13th.—I was interrupted yesterday afternoon in writing my letter, by being sent for to go with a flag of truce to take a letter from Lord Raglan to Prince Menchikoff. Accordingly I went, as before, to the broken bridge over the Tchernaya, near Inkermann, and made my trumpeter blow until he was black in the face ; but no notice was taken of it in any sort of way, although I waited there for nearly two hours ; when, as it was becoming dusk, I had to return to Head-quarters. It was a bitterly cold day, so perhaps the enemy thought they would save themselves the trouble of coming to receive the flag of truce.

Last night the Russians made a sortie upon the

lines of the Allies before the town. I am sorry to say that this was perhaps the most successful of the many sorties which the enemy have made against us. Soon after 1 A.M. the Russians opened a furious cannonade from all their batteries; perhaps one of the quickest fires that we have had since the opening of the siege: it was probably to cover the advance of their troops, for a heavy column of men came out of the town, between the Redan and Malakoff batteries, and did this with such rapidity that a picket, of a sergeant and twelve men, were taken prisoners without firing a shot. They continued their advance, and got into a portion of our trenches, and, taking our men by surprise, drove them out without meeting with much resistance. However, in about six or eight minutes the covering parties came up, advanced with the guard of the trenches, and re-occupied the portion of our parallel which we had lost, the Russians retiring without attempting to hold it any longer. In this affair we had 4 men killed, and 1 officer and 7 men wounded. What damage we did, if any, to the enemy it is impossible to say, as they had time to carry off any killed or wounded they may have had. Our allies fared no better than we did, for the enemy got into one of their batteries and spiked several mortars: however, they were speedily driven out again, leaving 5 dead and 2 wounded in the hands of the French. Their

own loss is somewhat severe, being variously stated at from 20 to 30 casualties. The truth is, that, as far as the English army is concerned, the men are overworked, and consequently it is almost impossible to keep them as alert and active as the advanced posts and parallels before a besieged town require. I think, too, the intense cold makes one's sense of hearing and seeing, especially at night, difficult: one gets so benumbed that all one's faculties are more or less paralysed. I understand that the four men killed last night were bayoneted by the enemy when wrapped in their blankets fast asleep, their comrades not being able to wake them in time before the Russians got into the trench. The enemy of course have the advantage of coming out of warm habitations, and not unfrequently full of warm spirits; so that it can hardly be wondered at if they are successful, in the first instance, in their sorties.

To-day (13th) is New Year's Day, old style, and it is therefore thought that the Russians made the sortie of last night as a successful conclusion of the old year, and as a good omen for the future. For some time past our allies have promised to give us more assistance on the right, and yesterday it was finally settled that the French should take all the guards and outposts before Inkermann, and occupy the ground from the right of our right attack, or rather from the Careening Ravine to the head of the

harbour of Sevastopol. I must say I think they have been very tardy in rendering us any assistance: according to their own statement, on the 1st of January they had upwards of 65,000 effective men before Sevastopol, whereas we, as you may remember I stated, had only 23,600; little more than one-third the strength of the French; and although they have a greater extent of trenches and siege-works to occupy and defend, they certainly have not more than half as much again than we have. It has also been determined that, as soon as the weather will admit, the French shall invest the portion of the town from the Malakoff Tower to the harbour, which, up to this time, has been unmolested. Here follow a few extracts from my Journal.

January 10th.—It rained all day, so the snow is gradually disappearing. A deserter came in to-day from the town; he told us that the Emperor of Russia has ordered that to every man who brings in the following things from the Allies shall be paid accordingly; viz. for a blanket, four paper roubles; for a musket, eight silver roubles; * and for a prisoner, fifty paper roubles. And he also said that

* A silver rouble is worth 3s. 4d. in English money, and is used as the basis of all financial transactions in Russia, no higher denomination being employed in accounts. The value of a paper rouble varies, but it may be generally put at about 10½d.

the men who had spiked some French guns and mortars in their different sorties got one hundred paper roubles each ; and those that carried off some small mortars (cohorns) got one hundred and fifty paper roubles each. A man of the 19th regiment deserted to-day : he went down the Woronzoff-road Ravine towards Sevastopol. When a little past our advanced sentries he was discovered ; the picket was turned out and fired a volley at him, and he was shot through the back, and fell badly wounded. As he was too near the Russian outposts for our men to go to him, he lay there for several hours unassisted, and, of course, our sentries would not allow any of the Russians to approach him. When it got dusk a party of six men were sent to try and recover him, but were met by a strong picket of the enemy, consisting of some thirty men ; he was therefore abandoned to his fate. Lord Raglan rode up in the afternoon to the front, and visited different regiments of the 4th Division.

January 11th.—Very hard frost again last night, the thermometer down to 18° Fahrenheit, which, after the wet of yesterday, has made the ground like a sheet of ice. A man of the 7th Fusileers committed suicide this morning, when on sentry, by blowing his brains out with his firelock. He told a comrade shortly before that he was determined to put an end to himself, as he could not stand the hard work and

severity of the weather any longer. He had been sixteen years in the regiment and bore a good character. Lord Raglan rode to the 3rd Division camp this afternoon and visited the different field-hospitals. The sickness still continues to a frightful extent in this division ; there are no less than 1036 men in its camp hospitals.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol.
January 15th, 1855.

I have received the things you so kindly sent for me by the "Gottenburg" steamer, and immediately put them into use ; for yesterday morning early, Lord Raglan and the Staff rode out and visited the Light and 4th Divisions camp—a process of many hours, as he inspected everything. It was a bitter cold day, with sharp snow-storms every hour, so you may imagine that the fur coat you sent me was a great comfort. About midday I was sent with a flag of truce to take in the letter which they would not receive two days previously. I accordingly went down the Inkermann road as usual, accompanied by a trumpeter belonging to a battery of artillery. When I reached our advanced picket on the road, I made him sound ; but before he had finished his flourish a great 32-pound shell came crashing down some fifty yards to my right, and exploded with a noise that

made the valley ring again, throwing up a little volcano of earth and stones. This was not a very pleasant way of being received; however, I ordered him to sound again, which he did. An instant after a 32-pound shot came whizzing towards us and struck the road about five yards in front of us, giving us a shower of dirt and snow. Our horses were very much alarmed; indeed I think I must confess that we were so also. There was nothing for it but to sound again, and, as after that we were not fired at, we continued our way to the bridge, sounding at every turning. Both shell and shot were fired from two guns at the Lighthouse battery, above the head of the harbour, on the north side. I waited for an hour and a half, and was just thinking of returning to camp when I saw two officers and a soldier carrying a white flag at the end of his musket, walking towards me along the causeway from the other side of the valley. For some reason or other the Russians had cut the causeway across, about a quarter of a mile from the bridge, since they received the last flag of truce: it looked as if they fancied that some night we might attempt to move troops across the valley by the causeway, and this would put another obstacle in our way. The two officers came up shortly after and apologised for keeping me waiting, but said that there was no officer of sufficient rank to receive a flag of truce, and that they had to send across to Sevastopol

for instructions ; but that a boat would soon be sent with a superior officer authorised to take my letter. These two officers belonged to the guard of the Lighthouse battery. I complained to them that I had been fired at twice : they expressed their regret, and said that the gunner who fired at me was "*un homme bête*," who did not remark that I came with a flag of truce—a poor consolation to us, if we or our horses had been either killed or wounded. They congratulated me on my fur coat, and wanted to know if we had all got the same sort of thing ; to which I replied, that all those who had not got them would receive them very soon. The Russians said they wished they had the same chance. They were both very indifferently clothed, and appeared to feel the cold much. In course of time a naval officer of some rank arrived in a boat. I gave him my letter, and then he told me that "The General"—"What General?" I said. "The General commanding in the town," he replied (he was too sharp to let out his name, in reply to my query*), "wished in future for flags of truce to come in from the English to the town, as it is inconvenient to receive them at Inkermann, and difficult to discover their approach from the battery at the lighthouse."

* It was of importance to ascertain who commanded in Sevastopol, as it had been reported some time before that General Osten-Sacken was expected from Odessa with reinforcements, and was then to take command of the garrison.

After a few commonplace observations and compliments, we bowed and separated : I returned to the Head-quarters camp.

The Russians made a sortie last night from the Bastion du Mât, on the right of the French trenches. I am sorry to say that it was even more successful than their last : they appear to have taken our allies completely by surprise, as they had several men bayoneted asleep in the trenches. They came on in great force, and it was not until reinforcements were brought up from the rear, and some desperate fighting had gone on for some minutes, that our allies cleared their trenches of the enemy. The French loss was 2 officers and 17 men killed, and 2 officers and 42 men wounded, besides a few missing, who were probably made prisoners in the first instance. The Russian loss appears to have been but trifling, as only three or four bodies were left behind, all their wounded being carried off. These details were given me by a French officer of the Etat Major, and he added, "the men were so benumbed from the cold, that it was no wonder they were taken by surprise." When I tell you that the thermometer stood last night at 16° Fahrenheit, you will easily believe that such might be the case. It has been snowing all to-day, and it is now three feet deep on the plateau.

Mr. Cadogan arrived at Head-quarters last evening, to make arrangements for the submarine

telegraph from Varna to the Crimea, which is to be laid down immediately. This will be a great comfort to people at home, as they will hear the issue of the engagements with the enemy, without being kept in suspense as to the fate of their friends.

This morning a woman, the wife of a corporal belonging to the 23rd regiment, was confined of a daughter, in a hole excavated out of the ground, covered in with a small dog-kennel tent; both mother and child are doing well, as people say. Poor thing! what a dreadful trial for her to go through under such disheartening circumstances. Lord Raglan, with his usual kindness, sent his own doctor to see after her, and some little comforts from his kitchen that he thought might be acceptable to her.

The 'Times' continues to abuse us, I see, and talks much of the discontent of the officers and men in the English army out here. It is a notorious fact that the officers who grumble the most are those who have lately arrived, and who have not gone through any of the hard fighting; the brigade of Guards have got some of the greatest grumblers of the army among them, but I believe the worst are those who have joined within the last month. It is surely to be especially regretted when officers comparatively high in command, and who may otherwise have greatly distinguished themselves,

should so far forget the *first quality* and consequent duty of a soldier as to set an example of grumbling and discontent at the hardships which all have to endure alike, instead of showing a steady determination to make the best of everything.* I cannot fancy a greater fault on the part of one in command than to exhibit in his own conduct a disposition to criticise and censure those in authority, and, in point of fact, one may almost say to sanction a spirit of insubordination among his men. In making these severe remarks I have no wish to disparage the brigade of Guards generally: they have displayed on every occasion before the enemy a courage and devotion to their country which will ever be remembered with admiration by all who witnessed it. It is, therefore, the more to be lamented that men who showed such bravery and indifference to danger in the battle-field should not exhibit more firmness and resolution in facing the hardships of a winter encampment; for since the battle of Inkermann, the Guards, in consequence of their severe losses, have been excused from all trench-duty.

I see also it is stated in the 'Times' that "the Commander-in-chief does not go amongst the troops,

* La première qualité du soldat est la constance à supporter la fatigue et les privations; la valeur n'est que la seconde. La pauvreté, les privations, et la misère sont l'école du bon soldat.—*Maximes de Guerre de Napoléon.*

and that many officers and men who landed in the Crimea in September have never seen Lord Raglan." To this I can only say that it is false from beginning to end. I refer you to former letters, to show how frequently Lord Raglan visited the different camps, and in them I have only mentioned to you the times when they happened to come under my own observation, for often the Field-Marshal has been out without my having entered it in my journal. I regret now that I did not write it down each day, as I might thus prove what scandalous falsehoods appear in the newspapers, and which the public generally are only too ready to believe as gospel. All I can say is, that hardly a day passes, be the weather what it may, but Lord Raglan rides out to some one of the camps; and when you consider the extent of ground which the English army occupies, and the dreadful state of the country, it is not very surprising if the Commander-in-chief is unable to visit the whole as often as he could wish.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
January 20th, 1855.

All at once the weather has suddenly changed, and from the thermometer being at 11° Fahrenheit two mornings ago, it is now at 38°, and consequently the snow is fast disappearing; indeed, in many places

the ground is bare. However, you must not suppose from this that the winter is over, for all the natives say we shall have much cold and snow in February. I almost fear this weather is worse for the health of the army than the severe cold we have lately had, for now that the troops have to a great extent received warm clothing, they are better protected against cold than wet; besides which, the rapid thaw has once again reduced the ground to a state of slush, and the roads are as bad, if not worse than ever. The men no longer suffer from want of their rations, as, in consequence of the efforts lately made during the cold weather to form dépôts of provisions in each divisional camp and at Head-quarters, they have not to be fetched from Balaklava. The bringing up provisions and stores from there to the front is, however, less difficult than it was, for the Commissariat have imported a large quantity of animals; these die in great numbers daily from over-work, but, nevertheless, they keep the dépôts supplied with stores. The Russians appear to be far worse off than we are, for we hear from deserters that the troops in the neighbourhood of Sevastopol are dreadfully hard up for provisions, and that they have to take from the stores of Sevastopol to feed the army on the Belbec; the want of transport is so great that, previous to the heavy fall of snow, a battalion of infantry was marched daily from the troops on

the Tchernaya to Batchi-Serai to return the following day with provisions for the whole division.

I must tell you rather a droll story which is going about, and which I have every reason to believe is perfectly true:—A certain Mr. C——, an officer in the — regiment, was taken prisoner about a month ago in a sortie of the Russians from Sevastopol, and was afterwards sent to Simferopol. A day or two after he arrived there he received some letters from England, which had been sent in with a flag of truce, and forwarded on to him from the Russian headquarters. One of these letters was from a young lady who, so the story goes, was engaged to Mr. C——, and in which she says, “I hope, dearest, that if you take Prince Menchikoff prisoner you will cut a button off his coat, and send it to me in a letter, as you know how fond I am of relics.” As is not unfrequently done, all these letters had been translated at the Russian head-quarters, in case they contained any information which might be valuable to the enemy. It appears that Prince Menchikoff was shown this letter, which amused him not a little; so he wrote to Mr. C—— saying how much he regretted not being able to oblige his fair young correspondent as regarded considering himself a prisoner of Mr. C——’s, but that he had much pleasure in sending him the enclosed button off his best coat, which he trusted Mr. C—— would forward to the young lady

with his compliments. Rather fun, I think. Prince Menchikoff must be a good-natured fellow.

There is a report here that the Emperor of Russia is dying: this intelligence was brought to us by some Tartars, who had come from the interior of the Crimea, and who said that prayers are ordered to be offered up for him both in the Greek churches and also in the mosques, and that in Simferopol and Batchi-Serai pictures are shown about and sold representing the Emperor in bed holding a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, and underneath an inscription to the effect that he will fight for the true faith till the "last hair of his head." They also told us that the Tartar population are *ordered* to contribute to a fund that has been opened for "carrying on the war;" but at the same time they are assured that, when the invaders (the Allies) have been driven into the sea, the Emperor guarantees them advantages and improvements they never even dreamed of before. Poor devils! if these are the conditions, I fear their chance is poor indeed. I finish this letter with some extracts from my journal.

January 16th.—The most disagreeable day we have yet had; a high north wind making the frozen snow drift in clouds, which almost blinded one; indeed at times it was next to impossible to face it. The thermometer was at 20° Fahrenheit. Lord Raglan, accompanied by only two of his aides-de-

camp, rode out to the Light Division camp, principally that he might take some little comforts and warm things to the poor woman who was confined yesterday. On arriving at her miserable habitation Lord Raglan got off his horse, and himself gave the things he had brought to the woman and her husband the corporal. The man was so overcome by his Lordship's kindness that he had no words to express his thanks, but Lord Raglan, with his usual good-nature, endeavoured to relieve his embarrassment by talking about his child, &c. He afterwards went to General Codrington's tent, and had a long talk with him; and while there a sergeant brought a letter to the General reporting the desertion of four men—two from the 88th regiment and two from the Royal Marines. They had gone over to the enemy from the extreme of the trenches on our right attack. Two of our sentries saw them, but let them pass, as they said they were going to cut wood. When they were afterwards seen approaching the Russian sharpshooters they were fired upon by our sentries, but escaped untouched.

It was officially reported that, last night, 8 men of the 23rd regiment died from the cold. Some Tartars returned to Head-quarters to-day who had been sent into the interior as spies; they say that the snow is five and six feet deep between Mackenzie's Heights and Batchi-Serai, so that all communication

with the interior is cut off for the present ; that the Russian troops are suffering much from want of food, the only thing they get being black bread. They state that General Osten-Sacken is commanding in Sevastopol ; General Gortchakoff is stationed at a farm-house between Sevastopol and Batchi-Serai, and commands the divisions covering the road to the interior ; and Prince Menchikoff (commander-in-chief) is with his head-quarter staff at the village of Belbec. They represent the town of Batchi-Serai as being full of sick and wounded men ; every house is used as a hospital ; the Russians are badly off for doctors and medical stores of every sort, consequently the sick are neglected, and the unfortunate inmates of the hospitals die by hundreds daily.

January 17th.—I heard that the thermometer up at the front was last night at only 11° Fahrenheit ; this morning it was 20° Fahrenheit outside my habitation. Lord Raglan, ever thoughtful of others, sent an officer of his staff with a large india-rubber bag lined with flannel (which had only arrived a day or two before, as a present to him from some friend in England), to the poor woman of the 23rd regiment to lie on, in the hope that by this means she would be better protected from the damp and cold. In returning her thanks, she said, poor thing, that she and her child were going on well.

January 18th.—It began to thaw early this morn-

ing, and continued to do so all day; high wind and a driving rain. Lord Raglan and the Staff rode down early in the morning to Balaklava, and remained there the greater portion of the day, visiting all the hospitals, and the different regiments and works in the neighbourhood of the town.

January 19th.—Thaw still continuing. It is wonderful what a quantity of snow has disappeared during the last six-and-thirty hours. Dreadfully muddy; the roads in a worse state than ever. There was a grand council of war of the allied generals and admirals at the English Head-quarters, I believe to discuss once more about relieving the English army on the extreme right at Inkermann, and also to arrange the manner in which the trenches are to be constructed to complete the investment of Sevastopol on the south side, and, as regards the navy, the number of guns and ammunition that they could supply from the allied fleets.

January 20th.—This day the thaw still continues very rapidly. The Russians made two sorties last night, at different times, on the French trenches—the first, on their extreme left; the enemy were repulsed by a portion of the *Légion Etrangère*, not without considerable loss to them. The second sortie was made more on the centre of their works; here, too, considerable fighting took place; the enemy were soon forced to retire, leaving several of their dead

behind them. The loss of our allies is stated by themselves to be 32 men killed and wounded. It appears that for the last few days the Russians have been adopting a new method of taking prisoners; they have employed the *lasso*, and I understand that the French have lost several men in this manner; and it is said that last night they took 6 or 7 prisoners, who, after having driven in the Russians, were lassoed round the body, leg, or arm, and forcibly dragged into the Russian batteries. I hear to-day that General Canrobert intends sending in a letter to General Osten-Sacken, protesting against this mode of warfare, as being barbarous.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
January 23rd, 1855.

We have at last got a magnificent day; almost all the snow has disappeared, as it has continued thawing ever since I wrote on the 20th. On that night the Russians made another vigorous sortie on the right of the French trenches. Our allies saw them coming, and went over their parapet to meet them; but being in small force in comparison to the enemy, they suffered a good deal, although they repulsed them without their having got up to the trenches. The French state their loss at 40 casualties; what the enemy suffered is unknown, as they carried off their killed and wounded.

On the morning of the 21st the French at length gave us their long-promised assistance on the right. A brigade of infantry of the 1st Corps camped close to our 2nd Division; and in the course of the day all our pickets and guards right of the Careening Bay ravine were relieved by the French troops, thus freeing us of a duty which took no less than 1600 men daily; which will consequently give our men employed in the trenches at least one night a week more off duty. None of the navvies have made their appearance yet; but two directors or surveyors have been here for some days, marking out the line which the railway is to take; and from what they expect in the way of labour from the troops, which we are totally unable properly to spare, as I anticipated, it will be a long time before it is available for transporting the stores for the troops on the plateau. One of these gentlemen told me the other day that it would take 3000 men upwards of a month to make the railroad from Balaklava to the plateau; and his calculation is made upon the work that navvies usually do in England. I need hardly remark that it is absurd to suppose that any of our troops, suffering as they have been for the last two months, would be able to do the work which an able-bodied navy, accustomed to the employment, well fed, well clothed, and well housed, gets through in England.

We are all very indignant and much disgusted at

the repeated attacks made on Lord Raglan and those in authority by several of the English newspapers, and especially the 'Times.' The mail came in this morning, and brought us the public journals up to the 7th instant. In the 'Times' of 2nd, 3rd, and 4th instant there is each day a letter purporting to be written by officers out here, of a character so discreditable to them as holding her Majesty's commissions, that one can hardly believe in their really being the productions of English gentlemen. I notice these three in particular, as being written by officers; those which are published as being letters from soldiers and amateurs I will not comment upon, as men of that class rarely have the opportunity of judging with any fairness of the motives of those in authority. Every man can make out a grievance for himself; but I beg you not to be misled by these letters, especially those written by civilians, who, it would really appear, come out here for the sole purpose of finding fault with everything and everybody.

I enclose you extracts from the three letters alluded to above,* and here follow my comments upon their

* *Extracts from letters from the Crimea, published in the 'Times' of January 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, 1855.*

The following, of January 2nd, is an extract from "a letter received by a gentleman from his son, an officer in the — regiment, at present serving in the Crimea:"—

several statements. In the first letter you perceive that it is said that *everything is grossly mismanaged*

"Camp before Sevastopol, December 12th.

..... "Every one is grumbling and growling, being thoroughly disgusted with the whole affair. Everything is grossly mismanaged—the Commissariat, the Ordnance, and all are, none knows where. Every one leaves everything to the others to do, and consequently nothing is done. Lord Raglan has not been seen for three weeks, and the report is he has gone to Malta for the winter. In fact, he has succeeded in giving general dissatisfaction."

The following is an extract from a letter, published January 3rd, "from a Field-Officer mentioned for distinguished conduct in Lord Raglan's despatch."—

"Camp before Sevastopol, December 12th.

..... "Lord Raglan (if Lord Raglan be really here, and not in London) is never seen. Whether he knows anything of how things are going on or not, I do not know; I am sure he ought to do so. And yet Lord Raglan has been made a Field-Marshal. The blood of his officers and men has won it for him, and not his own abilities. I am told Sir De Lacy Evans will speak out, and I most earnestly hope he may. He can make great exposures, and do much good, if he will. It is generally understood that he has gone home in the greatest disgust with everything. It will hardly be credited that, although the exposed state of our right flank before Inkermann battle was the subject of frequent comment, Lord Raglan never once rode over the ground, or knew anything of it, until after the Russians attacked us. Everything about the French contrasts with us most strongly. Their sick are not numerous; their men are always clean and uniformly dressed. Our men are a mass of dirt, rags, and misery. The indomitable courage of men and officers alone saves us. I have never heard of any one getting an order yet in any action I have been in. We all do as we like. We have had two alarms lately—the one last night, the gusts of wind preceding the

—*the command of the army, the commissariat, the ordnance, &c.* This scarcely needs any remark further than that it would be impossible for any but an officer of high rank in the army, and long experience, to judge and condemn in this wholesale manner. Then he goes on to say, *Lord Raglan has not been seen for three weeks, &c.* That is nothing more nor less than a deliberate falsehood; because the writer does not happen to have seen the Commander-in-Chief, that is no reason that Lord Raglan should not have been out! and as to his saying that there is a report that Lord Raglan has gone to Malta, one can only reply that he must be an idiot to give credit to anything so absurd, when he does, or ought to, see the General Orders every day, which would prove to him the presence of the Field-Marshal.

In the second letter the writer makes as false a statement as the former as regards Lord Raglan's presence in camp; and further on he grumbles at his having been made a field-marshal, and says that *the blood of his officers and men won it for him, and not his own ability.* I wonder who is the best judge of this—the field-officer who abuses his chief, or the war-minister who recommended the promotion?

storm. We shall have a decisive affair before long. It is, however, a very dreary prospect before us. It is said that the Emperor Nicholas engages to send all that are left of us in the spring away in a single line-of-battle ship."

Then he hopes *Sir De Lacy Evans will speak out*. I have no doubt he will ; but the time may come when others will make exposures about Sir De Lacy that will not reflect much credit on his military reputation. Then he further on says, '*It will hardly be credited that, although the exposed state of our right flank before the Inkermann battle was the subject of frequent comment, Lord Raglan never once rode over the ground, or knew anything of it, until after the Russians attacked us.* I need only refer you to my own letters to show how utterly false the whole of this is. You must remember that I told you more than once how frequently Lord Raglan and Sir John Burgoyne urged the necessity of a reinforcement at this point, and how ready General Canrobert was with promises of the desired support, but how tardy in fulfilling them.

Next we have, *Everything about the French contrasts with us most strongly : their sick are not numerous ; their men are always clean and uniformly dressed.* The contrast certainly is great, as the French have three times as many men as we have ; but when he says their sick are not numerous, he displays great ignorance of the state of our allies. I took the trouble yesterday to make inquiries of two or three officers high in the Etat-Major : one told me they had about 23,000 non-effective men a month ago, but that he believed it had since increased.

Another said that last week they had 27,000 men sick in the Army of the East ; and the third stated that they had 7000 men in the field hospitals in the Crimea, and about 16,000 in their different hospitals in Turkey. It is a well-known fact that the French always make out their sick in as small numbers as they possibly can, so, if one takes the medium of their statements, one may fairly put the French sick at upwards of 24,000 men ; it can therefore scarcely be said that *their sick are not numerous*. As to their men being clean and uniformly dressed, they are certainly in that respect far better off than ours, but the writer must be aware that all the winter clothing for the English troops was lost in the hurricane of November last. Then to say that *our men are a mass of dirt, rags, and misery*, is a great exaggeration, in which I think he will get but few out here to agree. Some way further on he adds, *I have never heard of any one getting an order yet in any action I have been in : we all do as we like*. One would think that the writer had never been in action to say anything so absurd, as you must know from my accounts to you of the different battles. Next, *We shall have a decisive affair before long*. I hope we may, but I think his prediction will not be verified. Is he fool enough to believe that the Emperor Nicholas ever made so ridiculous an assertion as to say that he will send what remains of us in the spring.

away in a single line-of-battle ship? I should recommend the *Field Officer* to write more sense in future, and endeavour to confine himself to the truth, if not for his own credit, at any rate for the honour of the profession in which he serves.

The last letter * is stated to be "from an officer of the Guards:" I say *stated*, because every officer in the brigade in the Crimea denies having written it.

* The following is an extract from a letter, published January 2nd, "from an Officer of the Guards."

"Camp before Sevastopol, December 13th.

"Our brigade are all very much annoyed at Lord Raglan's despatch of Inkermann; independently of his saying so little about the Guards, the despatch was not at all correct. He mentions that the 20th and other regiments of the 2nd Division supported; they ought to have done so, but never did. The fact was, General Pennefather, who commands the 2nd Division, wrote the whole of the despatch sent to England, and of course only mentioned his own division. Lord Raglan knew nothing about the fight at all, and, unfortunately, the three senior officers of the brigade of Guards were wounded, and consequently no despatch came in from us. The Duke of Cambridge quarrelled with Lord Raglan, so he said nothing to him about it; but there is a great deal of talk about the whole thing here, and much displeasure. Lord Raglan is getting fast into bad odour with the whole army from his total carelessness of everything; there will be a great outcry against him before long. There was a very severe one (*sortie*) last night, but as I write this on outlying picket, and came on before daybreak, I don't know the particulars. 1300 sick went off to Scutari yesterday from here, and there have been 60 or 70 in the English army buried daily—all Lord Raglan's fault in not seeing that clothing and shelter were provided for them, which was in his means, but he does not care."

Four of Lord Raglan's personal staff belong to the different regiments of Guards, and on seeing this letter they expressed their opinion that no brother officer could have indited anything so disgraceful ; and to clear the brigade from such an imputation, every officer of it out here was questioned by them as to whether he had written it. One and all denied it, and indeed they went so far as to say that they had no out-lying picket on the 13th of December, so that either the 'Times' publishes letters without proper authenticity, or else they have been taken in by some one who pretends to be a member of the corps.

But to return to the letter in question. It is stated that the Inkermann *despatch was not at all correct. He* (Lord Raglan) *mentions that the 20th and other regiments of the 2nd Division supported ; they ought to have done so, but never did.* I have Lord Raglan's despatch of Inkermann before me, as published in the 'Times' of November 23, 1854. I cannot find a word about the 2nd Division supporting the Guards ; indeed it would have been odd had it been so stated, as the 2nd Division were in a different part of the field, and a ravine was between them and the brigade of Guards. But further on in his Lordship's despatch he says that they were *supported by a wing of the 20th regiment of the 4th Division*, which is perfectly correct, as I know myself from having witnessed them so doing. He next asserts that *General Pennefather*

wrote the whole of the despatch sent to England. To this I have only to say that a more deliberate falsehood could not be put in writing. Then he complains that no despatch came in from the Guards: this also is false, as the Duke of Cambridge wrote the usual letter after the battle to Lord Raglan, describing the distinguished part which the brigade took at Inkermann, and which it is customary for each divisional commanding officer to send in to Head-quarters. The Guards, although only a brigade, were still under the direct command of a General of Division (His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge). He then proceeds to say *the Duke of Cambridge quarrelled with Lord Raglan*: such was not the case, as to the very last His Royal Highness and Lord Raglan were on the most friendly terms. Then after talking of the *bad odour* Lord Raglan is in with the army here, he says *there will be a great outcry against him before long.* This may very possibly be the case when such false and slanderous letters are circulated. As to the last sentence in this letter, it is expressed in so extraordinary a manner that it is difficult to understand its purport. The accusation against Lord Raglan is too absurd to need comment: I shall leave facts to speak for themselves.

It may not be out of place here for me to give you some idea of the daily labour of the English Commander-in-Chief. Lord Raglan is generally up in

the morning by 6 A.M., and at this time of the year writes by candle-light for an hour or more before his breakfast at 8. After that is over, he sees the general officers of the Head-quarters Staff, who bring to him the morning reports. First of all the Quartermaster-General, then the Adjutant-General, then the General of Engineers, then the officer commanding the Royal Artillery, and twice or three times a week, according to circumstances, the Commissary-General and the Inspector-General of Hospitals, or head of the medical department; so every morning of his life Lord Raglan has to see four, and very frequently six officers, heads of the different departments of the army. The length of time that it takes to discuss business with these officers of course varies very much; sometimes they may be disposed of in an hour, at others each may take as long. He then writes till 1 or 2 P.M., at which time he receives any of the different Generals or other officers who may wish to see him on duty. He then usually rides out till dusk to the different camps, where again he invariably has some object in view, of perhaps visiting the field-hospitals or the officers and men of any particular brigade or regiment. On returning home, his Lordship generally writes till dinner-time, which is usually about 8 P.M. Most days he has several officers from the camps to dine with him, after which he does business with different members of the Staff, and almost always writes

till past midnight. I will answer for it, that although his Lordship has but little bodily fatigue to go through, there is no officer in this army who is so constantly at work, or who gives himself so little relaxation. I may also mention to you that from the Field-Marshal's dislike to anything approaching parade or ostentation, he usually rides out accompanied only by two of his aides-de-camp and one mounted orderly, so that his appearance, to the uninitiated, would be only that of any other General of division or brigade, and would consequently not be remarked except by those who pass close by him. When I have mentioned that "Lord Raglan went out, accompanied by *the Staff*," I mean that he was accompanied by officers not only of his personal staff, but also by others belonging to Head-quarters, as, for instance, the Quartermaster-General and some of his department, the commanding officers of Engineers and Artillery, &c. &c.; but on these occasions there are rarely more than three or four orderlies, so that even then the cortege is not numerous. The escort of cavalry attached to Head-quarters, of which I have before spoken, are used as mounted orderlies for the different military departments at Head-quarters, and a hard time they have of it, as some of them are perpetually carrying letters, &c., day and night. In the French army it is invariably the custom for a general officer to go about at all times and seasons accompanied by

a cavalry escort, whether it be in a French garrison town or on service in the field. General Canrobert, whenever he goes out, is always accompanied by six or eight officers of his staff and an escort of some twenty Hussars, preceded by a *porte-drapeau* bearing the French flag, independently of one or two spahis,* his personal attendants. This cortege, of course, attracts attention, rendered remarkable, as it is, by the *porte-drapeau* and the peculiar dress of the spahis.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
January 29th, 1855.

I have but little to tell you this time : nothing of importance connected with the siege has happened since I last wrote. The weather has much improved and the high winds of the last two or three days have dried the ground so far as to enable us to bring

* The Spahis are a corps of cavalry, raised by the French in Algeria, in 1834; it consists entirely of Arabs, who find their own horses and accoutrements, but receive arms and a certain amount of clothing from the French government. They are dressed in the native Arab costume, but wear a crimson cloth burnous instead of the usual one of brown wool. The superior officers of the corps are Frenchmen, the remainder native Arabs. There never were any number of these troops in the Crimea. Marshal St. Arnaud had about 100 of them as his personal escort; but after his death these were sent back, I believe to Algeria. General Canrobert only had one or two of them, whom he used as his mounted orderlies.

up stores and provisions to the camp ; besides which, the materials for numbers of tents have been carried up by our men to the front, and some have been erected in different regiments for their field-hospitals. The French too lately have rendered us considerable assistance in getting down our sick for embarkation at Balaklava ; their admirable ambulance-mule corps, carrying *cacolets*, has removed with great expedition and comparative ease numbers of our sick : I hope ere long we may have in our ambulance a corps of the same sort ; indeed, it is already in course of organization at the recommendation of Lord Raglan. As to the hospital-waggons sent out from England with the army, and of which so much was thought by our medicos in London, they have proved complete failures ; enormously heavy, anything but easy for the unfortunate men they are to carry, one would think they were constructed to transport shot and shell rather than human beings. Indeed, their lumbering size and weight would fit them well as artillery waggons to carry spare stores. Captain Derriman, R.N., at Lord Raglan's request, undertook a few days ago to establish at Balaklava a place where the sick and wounded brought down from the front would be under cover, and where they could be supplied with hot tea and coffee previous to their being taken on board ship. For this purpose Captain Derriman has constructed a framework of spars,

covered over with the awning of his ship, the "Caradoc," as he was unable to procure other canvas for that purpose. Inside this sort of shed a fireplace has been built, and two men are employed in continually making hot tea and coffee for every sick or wounded man who chooses to take it. It is impossible to overrate the comfort of this to the poor sufferers brought down from the plateau in the cold, after their journey of two and three hours' duration.

Early this morning arrived from Constantinople several nurses, under the superintendence of three ladies, the first of whom is styled the "Mother Eldress," who has the general direction of the others. These kind-hearted women have petitioned Lord Raglan to allow them to go at once into the hospital at Balaklava, and have also asked to be allowed to attend the field-hospitals in camp. The former Lord Raglan has granted, and has given directions for immediate arrangements to be made for lodging them close to the hospital, with such conveniences as circumstances will permit. Their latter request Lord Raglan very properly refused, as he said he could not allow them to be exposed to the hardships and trials of camp life. I hear that this morning a shipload of navvies has arrived at last in Balaklava harbour, so I suppose that the railroad will be now commenced. Considering that the Duke of Newcastle

said that the navvies would be here by the 20th of December last, and in three weeks from that date construct a tramway that would carry all the requirements for the siege and army up to the plateau—and that up to this day nearly six weeks have elapsed before the first detachment of navvies have arrived—I think some of the abuse so liberally showered on the authorities here by the British public for their want of arrangement and forethought might fairly be transferred to those at home, who have none of the difficulties to contend with which so embarrass our chiefs.

On the 25th Lord Raglan, accompanied by two of his personal staff and the commanding officers of the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery and their aides-de-camp, went through the whole of our trenches, examining everything in detail connected with the batteries, and inspecting minutely our most advanced works, and even going into some of the rifle-pits. The enemy were very civil upon the whole, and scarcely fired a single round shot during the four hours Lord Raglan was in our two attacks: however, as usual, he had several narrow escapes from the rifle-balls of the Russian sharpshooters. He frequently would remain looking over the parapets for some minutes at a time in places where he fancied he gained a new or better view of any of the enemy's works, and consequently exposed himself

much. The three following days he visited successively the different divisional camps, beginning at the extreme right with the 2nd Division, and concluding at Balaklava with the cavalry and Sir Colin Campbell's command. The French have lately received a very large reinforcement in the shape of a whole division of infantry of the line, mustering upwards of 10,000 fresh troops: another division of the line is shortly expected, and already a portion of the Garde Impériale has appeared, of which there is to be a strong brigade out here:—these, to the number of 800 men of the voltigeurs, arrived off Kamiesch, direct from Marseilles, in the “Ripon,” English steam transport.

CHAPTER XII.

Desertion of Polish officer in Russian service — Arrival of Generals Lord Rokeby and Barnard — Promised aid of Sardinia — Sortie on the French — "Fort Victoria" — Colonels Yea and Egerton — Nurses in the general hospital — Murder of an English soldier — "Cool hands the blue-jackets" — Arrival of General Jones, R.E., and General Niel — Navvies — Excess of winter clothing for the army — French losses — The Malakoff the key of Sevastopol — Return of Sir George Brown — French corps d'armée — New French attack against Sevastopol — Railway — Lord Raglan inspects the defences of Balaklava — Recall of Lord Lucan — Tartar spy — Attack on Eupatoria — Russians repulsed — Casualties of the Turks — Sir Colin Campbell's reconnaissance — Severity of the weather — Serious affair between the French and Russians — Devotion and bravery of the Zouaves — Their dreadful losses — Speeches of Sir De Lacy Evans and Lord Cardigan — Lord Stratford's *intelligence* — Suspension of hostilities — Enemy sink four more ships — Colonel Steele's proposal — Return of General Pennefather — Expected visit of the Emperor Napoleon.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
February 6th, 1855.

As I missed the last mail, being occupied on duty, I will give you some notes from my journal:—

January 30th.—Two deserters came in from Sevastopol late last evening at different parts of our trenches; both were Poles in the Russian artillery. One was a cadet, acting as a subaltern (the first who has deserted over to the Allies), and the other a bom-

bardier. They informed us that the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael had both arrived in Sevastopol two days ago, and had been inspecting all the works of the town, and reviewing the troops, giving those who had distinguished themselves decorations and money. They stated that yesterday the Grand Dukes made a reconnaissance from the town of the ground in front of Inkermann, in the dress of private soldiers, so as not to attract the attention of the French sharpshooters. The bombardier said he thought that the Russians intended to make another attack on the English right, and try and force their way into our camp at the same point which they had hoped to have attained at the battle of Inkermann, viz. by the Careening Bay ravine. However, the cadet said that it was not at all likely they would attempt anything of the sort, as there was only one battery of field-artillery in the town, all the rest having gone in relays to Simferopol, to be repaired and recruited for future service. The latter part of the cadet's statement was fully confirmed by a Tartar spy who had been sent out by Mr. Calvert, and who returned from Simferopol late last night. He states that the Russians are repairing quantities of field-artillery at that town, where a great establishment has been formed for the purpose, and that a large number of wheels and different parts of gun-carriages have been sent from Nicholaieff and other

towns in the south of Russia, together with artificers and workmen. He also said that the army continued to suffer much from want of provisions, and that it was almost impossible for civilians to procure food even at enormous prices, and that all the cavalry, except those at Sak, watching Eupatoria, have been sent far into the interior towards the Putrid Sea, as in the plains there are large quantities of forage, which, from the utter want of transport, it is impossible to bring up to the great cavalry camps, near the towns.

Her Majesty's ship "St. Jean d'Acre," 90-gun screw steamship, arrived off Balaklava early this morning, with 640 men, drafts to different regiments; also two major-generals, viz. Lord Rokeby, to command the brigade of Guards, and General Barnard, to command a brigade of the 3rd Division.

January 31st.—Very cold again to-day, with sleet blowing about, penetrating through every nook and cranny of one's hut or tent. I understand to-day that two divisions of Sardinian infantry, mustering 15,000 men, are under orders for the Crimea, and are to be attached to the English army under the command of Lord Raglan. A very spirited thing of the Sardinian government, to join a cause at the very moment when its success seems dubious, or at any rate not altogether certain. They are to be

brought here by English transports, and will form a most valuable reinforcement to the allied armies.

February 1st.—The Russians made a most vigorous sortie from the town on the French last night. They came in large force up the ravine from the Man-of-war Creek, towards the English three-gun battery, between the English and French attacks. They took the French pickets who guarded the ravine by surprise, and captured 1 officer and 17 men, some of whom are said to have been wounded. These men were taken with but little resistance; but there was sufficient noise to alarm the neighbouring pickets and supports, who went forward to their assistance. In the mean time the enemy advanced, and got into a portion of the French works, that is to say, into a sort of covered-way they were constructing to connect the left of our three-gun battery* with their advanced parallel; and the probable object of the sortie was to stop the progress of this work. On the supports coming up, they were at first thrown into some sort of confusion by their own working-parties, who were retiring before the enemy; but these hav-

* It may be as well to remind my readers that the "English three-gun battery" was perfectly detached from the rest of our siege-works, as it was placed on a spur running into the Man-of-war Creek ravine, from the plateau on which were the French trenches.

ing passed, they met the Russians, and a furious hand-to-hand combat ensued, which lasted upwards of twenty minutes.

The night was so dark that it was difficult to distinguish friend from foe; both sides appear to have got into confusion; the officers of each party perpetually called off and rallied their men, and returned to the attack; but finally the Russians retired, though but slowly, carrying their killed and wounded with them, and followed by the fire from the French supports, and also by two field-pieces, which opened upon them with grape, so that their loss must necessarily have been considerable. However, this morning not a body was to be seen along the route by which they retired. The French loss is very severe: 1 field-officer and 1 captain of engineers, who had the direction of the working-party constructing the new approach, were both killed: 3 officers of the line are, I understand, dangerously wounded (one, it is said, mortally); 14 men were killed, and 27 wounded.

In the afternoon Lord Raglan rode out to the 3rd Division, and visited the hospitals. In the official report this morning I see that no less than 6500 men have been sent down sick to the general hospital at Scutari during the month of January.

February 2nd.—Raining all day. Lord Raglan rode out in the afternoon and visited the Light

Division; he afterwards made a reconnaissance on foot, accompanied by two of his aides-de-camp and a staff officer of engineers, of the ground between our right attack and the extremity of the harbour of Sevastopol, and where it is proposed that the French shall shortly break ground. On returning he inspected the redoubt which is being constructed by the French troops, and is called by them "Fort Victoria." This is to command more completely the Careening Bay ravine, and also some high ground between our right attack and the Malakoff tower. The French have an idea (for what reason I am unable to state) that the Russians are going to attack us on this ground to-morrow morning, and are therefore hurrying on the construction of the redoubt, and have brought up some artillery and tubes for firing rockets, which have been placed so as completely to sweep the ground in front of the work.

Lord Raglan subsequently visited the 4th Division. Everywhere he was told by commanding officers of regiments that their men were improving in health and spirits. There are a good many wooden huts now erected at the front; almost every regiment has one or two as its field-hospital; and two regiments of the Light Division (the 7th Fusileers and the 77th regiment) have each got five huts completed, independent of their hospital. These two regiments are indebted, I believe, for their present

efficient state chiefly to the rigid discipline that has invariably been maintained by their respective lieutenant-colonels, viz. Colonel Yea and Colonel Egerton. From the first these officers have never allowed the hardships of the campaign to interfere with the regular course of duty, and have never relaxed their discipline one iota more than absolutely necessary ; and the consequence is, that, although they have suffered more from losses in action than almost any other regiments in the army, from the brilliant and prominent parts they took at the battles of Alma and Inkermann, yet they are, I firmly believe, at the present moment in a more efficient state than any other regiments who landed with the army in the Crimea in September last.

February 3rd.—A miserably cold, raw day ; snow on the ground some three inches deep, which fell during the night. Lieutenant Rosser (10th Hussars) arrived to-day at Head-quarters from Bombay, with despatches for Lord Raglan, respecting the arrival of the 10th Hussars, who are shortly expected in Egypt from India, and who are to be brought on here to reinforce the cavalry division whenever Lord Raglan may think proper.

February 4th.—Last night it froze harder than it has yet done this winter, the thermometer going down to 10° Fahrenheit. A French artilleryman was found frozen to death this morning, just outside

the English Head-quarters. Lord Raglan and the Staff rode down to Balaklava, and went through the hospitals. He found the eight nurses in full employment; and the medical officers said they were of great assistance to them, as they made slops and messes for the sick. With the exception of the three ladies, they are none of them young, all rather fat and motherly-looking women, and quite come up to one's idea of orthodox nurses.

February 5th. — Magnificent weather, thawing all day. A man of the 9th foot (bâtman to an officer) was found this morning dead on the road-side between the Col and Balaklava; he had evidently been murdered, as his body was stripped. His head had been much knocked about with some blunt instrument, and his face was covered with blood. There were also marks round his neck, which looked as if he had been strangled: suspicion, from this last fact, falls on its having been committed either by a Turk or by one of the Tirailleurs Indigènes, as with them it is a common way of putting a man to death. Inquiries have been instituted, and a large reward offered for the apprehension of the murderer.

When out riding to-day I met some sailors, one of whom was leading a pony, rather a good-looking beast, so the following short dialogue ensued between us:—

I.—“Who does that pony belong to?”

He.—“It’s mine, yer honour.”

I.—“Where did you get him?”

He.—“Why, I found him, yer honour.”

I.—“And what are you going to do with him?”

He.—“Why, sell him, yer honour; may be you’d like to buy him; he’s chape at a pound.”

However, not wishing to become a purchaser of *found* (?) goods, I rode on. Cool hands these blue-jackets; they bag no end of ponies and animals every day, and then sell them to anybody for a sovereign. Indeed, it has become such an established fact that the sailors are very handy at appropriating stray cattle, that if an officer loses a baggager he always goes, or sends his servant, to the Naval Brigade camp, where he not unfrequently finds his missing property. But Jack invariably demands a fee for taking care of what he calls the “dumb baste.”

February 6th (this day).—We have just heard that the “Princess Royal,” 90-gun screw steamship, has arrived off Kamiesch with General Jones, R.E., on board. He has been sent out by the English Government to take command of the Royal Engineers; and I am sorry to say it is to be feared Sir John Burgoyne will be obliged to return home to resume his important duties as Inspector-General of Fortifications. I believe, just for the present, he remains with us. The French Government have sent out General Niel to examine into the state of the French siege-

works, and report to the Emperor his opinion of their efficiency. He arrived a few days ago, and has since then been carrying on his investigations.

The navvies, I understand, have arrived to the number of 250 some days ago, and commenced their labours by constructing a large wharf to land the very heavy materials for the proposed railroad. They appear to work hard, and get on very well with the soldiers; but some little discontent has been occasioned among the latter by the navvies resting on a Sunday, whereas, of course, the troops are not allowed to do so. It may appear to you in England strange that there is not some difference made between the Sunday and the week-day out here; however, that is quite impossible; there is not time enough to get through properly half the work that has to be done by our small force. Indeed, I do not know that it would be any advantage to the men to have an entirely idle day; as it would probably only lead to drunkenness, and, possibly, insubordination. For instance, last Sunday afternoon I was sent down to Balaklava on duty, and at every turn of the road was met by a drunken navvy. I inquired of one of the overseers if there was no restraint to be kept over them, and he told me they had to attend service on board one of their ships in the morning; but after that they had nothing more to do for the rest of the day; the consequences of this are as I have stated. I think,

if the Government send out a body of men to work with the army in the field, they ought not to enjoy more exemption from labour than the troops. They get very high pay, more than four times that given to the soldier ; are better clothed, better fed ; have none of his dangers to encounter, and but few of his hardships.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
February 12th, 1855.

No offensive movement on the part of the enemy worth recording has taken place since I last wrote ; the weather, although still changeable, has certainly improved. All the men have now got plenty of warm things, indeed more than they want, for *several* commanding officers of regiments have applied to the Quartermaster-General to return some of their clothes into store. The other night, when it was very cold, I asked a sentry at Head-quarters if he was comfortable, to which he replied, "I should be, Sir, only I have got on such a b——y lot of clothes." This will give you some sort of idea of the feeling of the men about it.

I see in one of the last 'Times' it is stated that we had borrowed from the French 25,000 great-coats for the use of the troops ; this is totally untrue : when the winter clothing for the French army arrived,

General Canrobert sent Lord Raglan *two* sheepskin coats as specimens of that article provided for the French. I suppose this is the foundation of the 'Times' correspondent's report. Then the same newspaper informs us that "the French and Turks are nearly all hutted, but none of the English:" two or three days ago 270 huts, capable of holding between 5000 and 6000 men, were officially reported as having been put up in the English army. I have never yet seen a French hut, except a few at the French Head-quarters for the use of the general Staff, but I understand that some have arrived a few days ago at Kamiesch. As to the Turks, they certainly have got a great number of their men in burrows, but this plan would appear hardly advisable for us to adopt, as the awful mortality among our Mahometan allies is attributed by the medical men in a great measure to their living underground. However, I am thankful to say that for the last fortnight the health of the army has improved; and although the number of sick has not diminished to any great extent, yet there is a decided amendment in their general state.

The other day I saw the official return of the number of deaths in the general hospitals at Scutari during the month of January; I am sorry to say they amounted to no less than 1461 British soldiers. I may mention to you what was told me yesterday by a

Staff officer attached to the French Head-quarters, to show you that the losses of our allies in sick have been in proportion as great as our own. He said that 117,000 men of all ranks have left France and Algeria to form the army in the East since March 1854; and that they have now only 84,000 men, and of these upwards of 7000 are sick in the Crimea. He also told me a case of one of their regiments (the 42nd of the line) reduced in the same lamentable manner as our 63rd regiment. It landed in the Crimea after our arrival before Sevastopol, then mustering 2700 men, and the remnant of 147 men left here about ten days ago on its return to France to be re-formed.

Since I last wrote to you the French have commenced opening a fresh attack against the defences of the town, from the Malakoff Tower to the harbour of Sevastopol; it will be a work of considerable time and labour before completed sufficiently to open fire against the enemy's batteries. I understand that this resolution on the part of General Canrobert was finally adopted by the advice of General Niel, who differs altogether with General Bizot (Chef du Corps du Génie) as regards the proper point of attack for the reduction of the town; General Bizot's opinion being, as I some time ago mentioned to you, that the Bastion du Mât is its vulnerable point. On the other hand, General Niel takes the view which Sir John

Burgoyne has held from the very first, viz. that the Malakoff is the key of Sevastopol. The consequence of this is, that at last the French will adopt the first plan proposed to General Canrobert by Lord Raglan at the suggestion of Sir John Burgoyne. It is now much to be lamented that our allies did not in the first instance give way to Sir John's arguments, as there can be no doubt, humanly speaking, of the capture of the town, if his propositions had been carried out.

I have just seen Sir George Brown, on his return from visiting the Light Division, he having landed this morning at Kazatch Bay. He is looking remarkably well, and he told me himself that he had quite recovered his health, except that his arm is still rather stiff from the wound he received at Inkermann. One of his aides-de-camp said that his reception by the men of the Light Division was most enthusiastic. He is the best reinforcement the army has received for the last three months.

As usual I will conclude my letter with extracts from my journal.

February 7th.—It rained the greater part of to-day, so that there is but very little snow left, and that only under sheltered spots. Lord Raglan went to the French Head-quarters, and had a long conference with General Canrobert. I understand he told Lord Raglan that it was in contemplation to form the

French troops in the Crimea into two corps d'armée : the 1st to consist of those troops which have already been named the *Corps de Siège*, and which is to be placed under the command of General Pélissier, who is shortly expected from Oran in Africa ; the 2nd to consist of the troops now on the rear of the Plateau and in the works before Inkermann, besides those to be employed in the new attack against the town ; this corps is to be under the command of General Bosquet.

Two deserters came in to-day ; one from the town (a Pole), who said that a new division had just arrived there to relieve one which was to go to the north side of the harbour ; the other belonged to the Russian troops near the Tchernaya : he says that the Russian force there consists of three regiments of infantry, two batteries of artillery, and some squadrons of Cossacks. He also says the infantry are much reduced by sickness, and the whole force there do not muster more than 6500 effective men ; one battalion marches daily to Batchi-Serai and returns the following day with bread and other provisions for the remainder.

February 8th.—The new attack against the town between the Malakoff Tower and the harbour was commenced last night by the French, who broke ground on the right of the second parallel of our right attack. Two heavy batteries, one of 8, and

the other of 15 guns, are to be constructed. At present it is proposed that they should be armed with English ordnance and manned from the Royal Artillery, but the trenches are to be guarded by French infantry. This arrangement will probably be changed. Lord Raglan received a telegraphic message from London this afternoon announcing that Her Majesty's Ministers had resigned in consequence of a motion having been brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Roebuck of "want of confidence in the Government by the Houses of Parliament." For the Government, 146; against, 305. Majority against, 159. The message went on to say that the Queen had sent to Lord Derby to form an administration. Lord Raglan and the Staff rode round the divisions at the front this afternoon; it rained hard the greater part of the time, so we were drenched to the skin.

February 9th.—I had to go down on duty to the cavalry camp and afterwards on to Balaklava; the navvies are getting on very well with the railroad, and have already laid down three or four hundred yards of rails, so that they have got out of the town. The line is laid down from the principal wharf close to the governor's old house, and runs along the chief street of Balaklava; it is intended that upon leaving the town it shall continue along the road by the side of the harbour, after which it is to leave the road,

and then is to take the centre of the valley up to the village of Kadakoi. It is then to turn round the base of the hill on which is stationed General Vinoy's brigade of French infantry, and from there be carried up a considerable ascent, at the top of which is to be the first stationary engine; then taking a winding course it will gradually ascend until it reaches the plateau near the Col. From there it can be carried in any direction that may be thought proper. The distance from Balaklava up to the Col, taking its winding course into consideration, will be nearly four miles. General Jones, R.E., arrived up at Head-quarters this afternoon, and takes up his residence here in a hut that has been prepared for him. It rained at intervals during the day with occasional snow.

February 10th.—A good deal of rain and snow fell during the night; the ground again is in a shocking state. Lord Raglan rode down with the Staff to Balaklava: just as he reached General Vinoy's camp above Kadakoi, a gun was fired from one of our redoubts, and a shell burst at the foot of Canrobert's hill, which was immediately followed by a second in the same direction. I was sent down to ascertain the cause, and, on arriving at the battery, was informed that they had fired at a deserter or spy from our lines; they supposed him to be a sailor, as he was dressed in a loose blue jacket, but he was

too far off for them to be sure; he escaped unhurt and was seen fraternizing shortly after with a picket of Cossacks. Lord Raglan afterwards went round the whole of the lines in the neighbourhood of Balaklava, and complimented Sir Colin Campbell on the highly efficient state of the works under his command. General Jones, who accompanied Lord Raglan, also expressed his perfect satisfaction at the manner in which the batteries were constructed and their general placement.

February 11th.—It rained all last night, and up to 4 P.M. this day, when it turned into snow, which fell in considerable quantities for some hours, and in the evening it froze hard. I was told to-day by a French Staff-officer that a single round shot from the enemy killed 8 men in their trenches, who were marching in file to relieve sentries.

During last night the Russians made a sortie upon the French trenches, and came out in considerable force with a great beating of drums and blowing of trumpets, and under cover of a tremendous cannonade kept up from all their batteries; but, finding our allies fully prepared for them, they retired without attacking. An officer who was in the trenches at the time said it was one of the heaviest cannonades he had ever witnessed, and that at one and the same moment a salvo of large shells was discharged to the number of 27: but strange to say, with all this, the

French declare they had not a single man killed or wounded !

February 12th (this day).—It froze very hard again last night (thermometer 21° Fahrenheit), and was dreadfully cold, as there was a good deal of wind. This morning, however, the wind went down, and the sun came out with so much power that the snow is rapidly thawing.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
February 20th, 1855.

As there have been so many varied incidents since my last letter, it will be perhaps clearer if I give you more extracts from my journal.

February 13th.—Pouring rain all day. This morning Lord Raglan sent Colonel Steele, his military secretary, down to Lord Lucan with a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle, in which he was informed that he was recalled from the command of the cavalry in the Crimea. As far as I understand, the reason of this is, that Lord Lucan objected to an expression in Lord Raglan's despatch of the battle of Balaklava, and wrote a remonstrance to him on the subject. Lord Raglan recommended Lord Lucan to withdraw his letter, but on his refusal it was forwarded to the Duke of

Newcastle (Minister of War), who with the concurrence of Lord Hardinge (General commanding-in-chief) decided that it was necessary for him to be recalled; for it would be incompatible for Lord Raglan, as Commander-in-Chief, to retain a lieutenant-general in an important command, after he (the lieutenant-general) had thought proper to censure his judgment. I hear Lord Lucan was very much annoyed at his recall, more especially as the date of the Duke of Newcastle's despatch is of the 27th of January, only two days before the Duke was out of office by the resignation of ministers. Lord Raglan went out this afternoon and visited the 3rd and 4th Division camps.

February 14th.—Last night the enemy only fired two round shots at our trenches, one of which took off the *left legs* of two men posted as double sentries; the one in front had his leg taken off above the knee, and the other below it; the latter screamed so dreadfully from pain, that he was heard by the sentries in camp: both men were immediately carried in, and had their shattered limbs amputated. Lord Raglan received a telegraphic despatch informing him that, Lord Derby being unable to form an administration, Her Majesty had sent for Lord Palmerston. The despatch did not mention who was to be the new Minister of War. In the afternoon Lord Raglan rode down to Balaklava, visited the

ordnance stores, and afterwards went through all the hospitals.

February 15th.—Beautiful day. The 7th French Division marched this morning from near the French Head-quarters, and camped on the extreme right, opposite Inkermann. They are to form part of the Corps de Siège for the new attack. To-day I went over the new French works between our right attack and the harbour of Sevastopol; their most advanced musketry-trench overlooks Careening Bay. During the time I was there some officers of the Corps du Génie were marking out a large battery, which is to be commenced this evening; and the musketry-trench is to be converted into a regular parallel. The Russian riflemen, in pits about 500 yards off, kept a smart fire upon us the whole time; and more than once, where the parapet was only partially constructed, we had to crawl upon our hands and knees, and even then with considerable risk of being shot across the back.

Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons hoisted his flag to-day on board his new ship the "Royal Albert." Lord Raglan received a telegraphic message from the Consul-General at Bucharest, informing him that the new Minister of War was to be Lord Panmure.

February 16th.—Very fine and mild. A Tartar spy sent out by Calvert five days ago returned this morning from Simferopol and Batchi-Serai. He represents the Russian soldiers as suffering very much

from want of meat, for they get nothing but black bread. He says that the road between Batchi-Serai and Sevastopol is strewed with loaded waggons full of powder and clothing for the besieged, as all the draft-horses have died from over-work and want of forage; but that large quantities of cattle dragging waggons full of forage were daily expected from the interior. He overtook on the road a body of 12,000 infantry on march from Simferopol to Eupatoria. He told us also that every now and then reinforcements arrive from Russia of 500 to 1000 men each, belonging to the 6th corps. He represents the number of sick at Simferopol and Batchi-Serai as being something quite prodigious; the cholera has broken out amongst them, and the poor creatures suffer dreadfully, both from want of doctors and medicines; they consequently die daily by hundreds.

February 17th.—Snow falling all day, though not very heavily. Lord Raglan rode out and visited the camps along the front, viz. the 3rd, 4th, Light, and 2nd Divisions. In spite of the perpetual change of weather the sickness in the army is on the decrease; but nevertheless the field-hospitals have great numbers of inmates.

February 18th.—Fine and mild. This morning Lord Raglan received despatches from Eupatoria, informing him that at daylight yesterday morning the enemy advanced in great force against the intrenchments round that town. The attack was made

with great determination; and, under cover of the fire of 80 pieces of artillery, the Russians advanced to within a few yards of the works of the place. They continued their attack for upwards of four hours, but were finally driven back in great confusion by the garrison, leaving behind them a tumbril, two waggons of scaling-ladders, and some 300 wounded prisoners. During the action Her Majesty's ships "Viper" and "Valorous" kept up a heavy fire upon the flanks of the Russian columns, and, it is stated, did them considerable damage. The enemy's force is estimated at 40,000 men. (This, however, is probably an exaggeration.) Omer Pasha commanded the defence in person. The details of the attack will be sent to-morrow.

I rode down to Balaklava on duty in the morning. The railroad is making considerable progress, having nearly arrived up to the village of Kadakoi. It was decided this afternoon at a Council of War of the allied Generals that the Russian force near Tchorgoun (consisting, according to the accounts of our spies and deserters, of about 7000 men and a complete battery of field-artillery of 8 guns) shall be attacked at daylight on the 20th instant by 12,000 French and 3000 English troops.*

* The reason of the Allies taking so large a force, viz. 15,000 men, to attack only 7000 Russians, was in the hope of prevent-

February 19th.—Another fine day. This morning five deserters from the town came over to us. They were all Poles, in the Russian naval service. One of them stated that he had been a clerk in one of the military offices, and that some days ago the 12th and 16th Russian divisions were ordered to Eupatoria, and a part of the 14th division since. We told him of the repulse they had met with, much to his astonishment, as he said he had heard nothing of it. He also says that the Russian force at the attack on Eupatoria could not have exceeded from 22,000 to 26,000 infantry, and, perhaps, 3000 artillery. The two Grand Dukes were yesterday in the town, but reside habitually at Prince Menchikoff's head-quarters, at the village of Belbec.

Lord Raglan received another despatch from Colonel Simmons, giving the details of the Russian attack on Eupatoria on the 17th instant. It would appear that the Russians during the previous night got all their artillery (80 guns) placed in a curved line round the greater portion of the town, and at the first dawn of day opened a heavy cannonade upon its defences. Under cover of their numerous artillery, the Russian infantry advanced in large force to assault the town.

ing an unnecessary sacrifice of life, as it was thought that the enemy would in all probability surrender when they found their retreat cut off and a body of troops over double their number opposed to them.

However, the Turks, who appear to have fought throughout the day with the same devoted and gallant spirit which animated the brave defenders of Silistria, rushed out upon the enemy, and compelled him to draw off with considerable loss. For some time after this, the Russians contented themselves with only keeping up their cannonade with greater rapidity than ever. They had also constructed during the night rifle-pits for two sharpshooters each, on either side of every gun. These men did great execution against the Turkish gunners, by firing at them through the embrasures, and consequently the Turks were unable to keep up an answering fire at all equal to that of the enemy. As soon as the Russians had re-formed their troops, another attack of a more serious nature took place. This was on the extreme right of the town, which part was very indifferently protected by a low wall and ditch.

The enemy came on in a heavy column of upwards of 3000 men, and actually advanced within thirty yards of the ditch, but were there met by such a murderous fire from the Turkish defenders of this portion of the line that they were thrown into confusion, and obliged to retire. But their greatest loss was caused at this period by the shot and shell thrown from two English ships-of-war, the "Valorous" and "Viper," which, being armed with guns of the heaviest calibre, told with wonderful effect on

the flanks of the Russian assaulting column. The enemy displayed the greatest bravery in this attack; they brought up two fresh regiments, and again advanced to the assault, dragging up with them two waggons full of scaling-ladders. However, their efforts were not attended with any success, as the Turks continued to keep up a steady fire of musketry, which, together with the heavy cannonade poured upon them by the English ships above mentioned, caused them such severe loss that they were forced once more to retire; and this time in such confusion that they abandoned their dead and wounded, and also the two waggons. Finding their efforts fruitless, the enemy withdrew from before the town after an action of four hours. Colonel Simmons speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of the Turkish troops generally, but of their artillerymen in particular, who, he says, showed a devotion to the service which could not be surpassed. The losses of the Turks are stated as follows:—

					Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	..	..	..	..	7	10
Men	..	..	..	..	80	267
					<hr/> 87	<hr/> 277
Total Casualties					..	<hr/> 364

Selim Pasha, who commanded the Egyptian troops, was killed during the action, and another Pasha was wounded. The former is highly spoken of by Omer

Pasha ; and his death is a great loss to our Turkish allies, who have not too many good officers. They had also 79 horses killed, and 18 wounded. The French, who had a detachment of about 200 men in the town, lost 4 men killed and 9 wounded. The enemy's loss it is difficult to state. The Turks say they have collected for interment upwards of 400 bodies ; but this is thought to be a great exaggeration. At any rate the Russians must have in all probability from 500 to 600 men *hors de combat*.

This afternoon Lord Raglan rode down to Kadakoi, and had a long talk with Sir Colin Campbell about the proposed attack upon the Russian force near Tchorgoun to-morrow morning. It was settled that Sir Colin should take with him the brigade of Highlanders, and the 14th and 71st regiments, with 300 horses of the cavalry division, and one battery and a troop of horse artillery (both 9-pounders)—in all about 3600 men ; that they should march to-morrow at 1 A.M. from Kadakoi, and proceed to some high ground overlooking the village of Tchorgoun and the entrance to the valley of Baidar, and so contrive as to arrive there before daylight. They are there to wait until they hear the French commence the attack on the enemy's camp by the Tchernaya river, upon which Sir Colin is to attack the Russians in the rear ; and by this means it is hoped that the whole of the enemy's force will be captured.

The French are to be commanded by General Bosquet, and will consist of three brigades of infantry, mustering upwards of 9000 men, the brigade of light cavalry (*Chasseurs d'Afrique*), and three batteries (12-pounders) of artillery ; in all, their force will be little under 12,000 men. They are to descend about 1 A.M. from the heights on the rear of the plateau, then traversing the valley of Balaklava remain on the heights this side of Tractir Bridge till daylight, at which time they are to advance rapidly, and endeavour to surprise the Russian force at Tchorgoun.

February 20th (this day).—Late last night the weather suddenly changed ; it began to snow, and early this morning the cold was intense. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, Sir Colin Campbell got his force in motion soon after 2 A.M. : they marched with great difficulty, as it was excessively dark, the snow blowing right in their faces, and consequently their progress was but slow. The column was formed with the light infantry (71st regiment) in advance ; then a battery of artillery ; then the three Highland and 14th regiments ; then the troop of horse artillery, with the cavalry on the left flank and the rear, together with the spare ammunition and ambulance waggons. The whole force arrived at the appointed spot soon after 5 A.M., some time before daylight ; and, according to orders, Sir Colin remained waiting

for the French until shortly before 9 A.M., when an aide-de-camp came up with orders from Lord Raglan for the troops to return immediately to their camps. The reason was, that General Bosquet found the weather so bad at 2 A.M., that, although he had reached the plain of Balaklava with his troops, he thought it impossible to go on, and decided on returning, sending one of his Staff to inform General Canrobert of the fact. The latter instantly despatched Major Foley (aide-de-camp to General Rose, English Commissioner) to Kadakoi to acquaint Sir Colin Campbell that the intended attack could not take place in consequence of the weather. Unfortunately Major Foley missed his road and wandered about in the dark until near 5 A.M., when he found himself at the English Head-quarters. On Lord Raglan being informed of the state of things, he ordered one of his aides-de-camp to go with Major Foley to Kadakoi, and if he found Sir Colin had gone on to follow and give him orders to return. Sir Colin on receiving Lord Raglan's order retired without loss of time, and re-entered our lines at a quarter to ten A.M. Not a man fell out during the whole march, though several went into hospital with frost-bites, but I understand none are of a severe nature. General Vinoy, on ascertaining that Sir Colin's force had gone unsupported by the French General Bosquet, turned out his brigade of infantry, and marched to meet him in

case of his requiring assistance. However, he met the English returning just as they passed under Canrobert's Hill, so his friendly aid was not needed.

I was sent down upon duty to Balaklava this morning just after our troops returned, and I must say I never felt anything equal to the intensity of the cold. The day became worse instead of improving, and at 1 P.M. the wind was so high that the drifting snow at times literally blinded one. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could make my horse face the storm: wherever the snow fell upon me it froze hard, so that one was covered with cakes of ice; my beard and mustachios were frozen up into a sort of lump, and my eyes feel at the present moment as if they would be sore for days to come; altogether I never remember having suffered so much from the severity of climate.

I can hardly close this letter without saying how much disgusted we all are at the conduct of General Bosquet last night; one would have thought that he might have despatched a party of cavalry along the valley to Kadakoi and informed Sir Colin of his intended abandonment of the attack on Tchorgoun. But General Bosquet does not seem to have troubled himself about the matter. Had this been done, the English troops would have been saved a very severe and trying march. As it was, it is much to be regretted that the French did not persevere and carry out the

first arrangement, for the Russians would have been taken entirely by surprise, and the whole force might not improbably have been captured without any resistance. All this might have been done, and yet the troops need not have been out longer than were those of Sir Colin's force.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
February 24th, 1855.

The French had a most serious affair last night, or rather early this morning, on the new ground just occupied by them on the right. You may remember I mentioned to you that the French had made a trench extending from the right of our right attack across to the harbour of Sevastopol, and also that they had constructed two batteries on the left of this trench to fire principally at the Malakoff. I also told you that the Russians had rifle-pits on the high ground opposite this trench.

On the night of the 22nd, the enemy commenced a redoubt of considerable size in front of the extreme right of the French parallel, and between the works of our allies and Careening Bay. This work was probably constructed with the express purpose of taking in reverse the batteries on the left of the new French attack. It being reported to General

Canrobert, he made a careful reconnaissance of it with his General of Engineers (General Bizot), and it was decided that at all hazards it must be attacked and destroyed, but from its advanced position, it would probably be impracticable to occupy it until the French approaches on the left were pushed more forward. Accordingly preparations were made to carry this object into effect. The arrangements were as follows:—an attacking party to consist of two battalions of Zouaves, mustering together 1000 men; these were to be supported by three other battalions of infantry from the 6th and 10th regiments of the line and the marines. They were under the immediate orders of General de Monet, but the entire direction of the attack rested with General Mayran. Shortly after midnight the Zouaves moved out at the extreme right of their new trenches, and marched rapidly but silently across the ravine and up the steep side of the opposite height on which the enemy's work to be attacked was situated. They were supported on their left by the battalion of marines; these again were supported on their left by the two battalions of the 6th and 10th of the line. The Zouaves succeeded in arriving within a few yards of the redoubt without apparently attracting the notice of the Russians, when they were received by a very severe fire from the troops inside the work, who were evidently fully aware of their vicinity. The Zouaves, nothing

daunted by this fusillade, which laid low several officers and numbers of men, rushed impetuously forward and endeavoured to carry the work at the point of the bayonet. To cross the ditch and scale the parapet of the redoubt was the work of but a few seconds, and then ensued one of the fiercest conflicts that has as yet taken place during the siege. The Zouaves fought with great courage and determination, as indeed did also the Russian troops, but after a struggle of some minutes' duration the enemy gave way and retired slowly down the other side of the hill towards the works of the town, followed by the Zouaves, who, flushed by their success, rushed on without proper support. It appears that the marines came up on the left immediately after the Zouaves had got into the redoubt, but took little part in the fighting. Directly the enemy were forced to retire, a portion of the troops told off for that purpose, under the direction of some officers of the Corps du Génie, commenced demolishing the work, but were soon interrupted by an awful fire from the batteries of the town which opened upon them directly the Russians found that their troops had withdrawn. This cannonade so discouraged the troops of the line and the marines who occupied the work, that they retired towards their trenches, in spite of the commands, exhortations, and remonstrances of their officers, thus leaving the gallant Zouaves without

support, who, finding themselves alone, had nothing for it but to retire in the best order they could.

The enemy had placed a considerable body of troops in the gorge of the ravine at the head of Careening Bay, and directly it was ascertained that their men had been driven out of their advanced work, they were brought up to give them assistance, and arrived to the succour of their comrades at the moment when the Zouaves, finding themselves unsupported, commenced their retreat. The Russians, being now in vastly superior numbers to the French, pressed them hard, and many a brave soldier of our allies fell to rise no more. The Zouaves retired in good order, but suffered very severely from the repeated volleys poured into them by the enemy's infantry following, and, when once more on the crest of the height near the contested work, they were dreadfully cut up by the showers of shot and shell hurled upon them by the batteries of the town; but they were spared further annoyance from the pursuing enemy, as, had they followed them further, they would of course have been exposed like the French to the fire of their own batteries. The Zouaves, who throughout the whole affair behaved with admirable courage and steadiness, re-entered their trenches minus a fourth of their number. The French are loud in their censure of the behaviour of the three battalions of the line and marines, especially the

latter. Indeed the abuse and curses I heard heaped upon them this morning by French officers of high standing, were rather at variance with the English mode of disapproval of the conduct of troops. The losses of our allies in this affair were very severe; in the Zouaves alone they had 5 officers killed and 14 wounded, out of 29 in action, and 284 men killed, wounded, and missing. I hear there were some 50 casualties in the other battalions. General de Monet, who greatly distinguished himself, was most severely wounded at the first attack on the enemy's redoubt; he was shot through both hands and also through the right shoulder and arm, and though thus desperately wounded, he remained in action to the end, having previously given over his command to the next senior officer, Colonel Cler of the Zouaves, who proved himself, not for the first time, a worthy chief of those fine troops.

We have received the London journals up to the 9th instant. In them I see Sir De Lacy Evans, in acknowledging the honour done him by the House of Commons, had not the good taste to confine himself to a simple expression of gratitude for the eulogy which had been passed on his conduct, but must needs enter into a long description of the part the 2nd Division had taken in each action. At any rate, it would have been more graceful had Sir De Lacy acknowledged the important services of General

Pennefather at the battle of Inkermann. I also see that Lord Cardigan has been fêted at the Mansion-house, and made a speech on that occasion which has afforded considerable amusement and merriment amongst the officers of the Light Cavalry here, who naturally know better than any one else the very *prominent* part which his lordship took at the celebrated charge of Balaklava. I think I *never* read a more egotistical speech in my life, to say nothing of the wonderful way in which Lord Cardigan indulges his imagination. "I" seems to have done everything, according to his statement. "D—n his I's!" as a punning subaltern of hussars said, upon reading the earl's eloquence!

The following is from my Journal.

February 21st.—Fine day, but very cold; last night the thermometer was down at 14° Fahrenheit. Lord Raglan received a despatch to-day from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe informing him that he (Lord Stratford) "has received intelligence from undoubted authority that the Emperor Nicholas is marching from Moscow to the Crimea at the head of a corps of 30,000 men of the Imperial Guard, and that this immense reinforcement might be expected almost immediately." I hear Lord Raglan does not believe it, and says that it is not likely the Emperor of Russia would march at the head of his troops now that he is negotiating for terms of peace at Vienna.

with the Allies ; beside which, there appears to be no doubt that the Emperor is ill.

February 22nd.—Bright fine day, but bitterly cold, with some wind ; the thermometer was down to 17° Fahrenheit during the night. Major Claremont returned from Eupatoria late last evening, where he had been sent with congratulatory letters from Lord Raglan and General Canrobert to Omer Pasha. He says that the Turks assert they have buried bodies of 453 Russians and upwards of 300 horses of the enemy's artillery. I believe, however, from information he received there, that Major Claremont considers this number an exaggeration.

February 23rd.—Lord George Paget arrived to-day at Balaklava on his return from England to take the command of the light cavalry brigade. I hear also that General Niel has just arrived at Kamiesch from Constantinople, at which place he received orders from the Emperor Napoleon to return to the Crimea. His position in the French army seems undefined ; he is to have, I understand, the general direction of the siege operations without taking the actual command of the Corps du Génie from General Bizot. The 39th regiment, upwards of 700 strong, moved to-day from Balaklava to the front, and is stationed in rear of the 4th Division ; they are all in wooden huts which have been erected for them. To-morrow two of the battalions of

Guards, viz. the Grenadiers and Coldstreams, march from their camp on the heights to the right of our position, down to Balaklava, and occupy the huts vacated by the 39th regiment.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
February 27th, 1855.

We have had a wonderful change in the weather since I wrote to you on the 24th. It is now almost sultry ; at least it feels so after the severe cold we have had lately. The thermometer is up to 62° Fahrenheit.

General Osten-Sacken sent in a flag of truce to the French lines yesterday, proposing that hostilities should be suspended on both sides to-day for one hour, after twelve o'clock, to bury the dead. Accordingly, shortly after mid-day, white flags were put up in the different Russian batteries, and all firing ceased ; while parties from both sides went about to search for their dead. There were no English ; and the French only found the bodies of three of their men who had been killed the other night. It is said that the Russians also had none. It is thought from these circumstances that the enemy had some object in view. I think it is not improbable that the two sons of the Emperor, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, wanted to make a reconnaissance of our works and batteries, and that General Osten-Sacken would only allow them to do so in perfect safety.

In the evening of the 25th instant Sir Edmund Lyons sent up an express to Lord Raglan, informing him that just before dusk the Russians had sunk four more large ships, in a line across the harbour of Sevastopol, apparently between Fort Constantine on the south, and Fort Michael on the north, side. It was thought that one of these was a ship of the line, and the other three frigates. He also informed Lord Raglan that during the day a very large working-party had been employed in commencing the construction of a large earthwork (probably a battery) on the north side, facing Sevastopol. On this intelligence being received, it was suggested by some one that the object of the enemy in sinking these ships was to form a foundation on which to construct a bridge of rafts or boats across the harbour. This idea, however, was laughed at by the officers of the Royal Engineers, as they considered such an idea perfectly impracticable.

For the last three days Lord Raglan has been going round the whole of the English defences and siege-works, and also the new French attack on the right, with General Jones and the principal officers of artillery and engineers. When the weather is more settled, a great increase of our works against the town is to take place; but the general arrangement first made by Sir John Burgoyne is still to be carried out, though with considerable additions.

Yesterday, Lord Raglan, accompanied by Sir Edmund Lyons, rode out to the advanced French pickets before Inkermann, and then walked to the right of their new trenches, to look at the position of two Russian steamers, anchored high up in the harbour, and which for a long time past have annoyed the pickets and outposts with the fire from their heavy guns. From their isolated position (they being at a considerable distance from the other ships in the harbour) it struck Colonel Steele (military secretary) that a few boats from the fleet, manned with ABseamen, under the direction of a clever and enterprising officer, might undertake a cutting-out expedition at night against these vessels: if successful, after capturing the crews, the steamers might be set on fire; they would inevitably be destroyed, and probably endanger the safety of other ships.

Colonel Steele stated his idea to Captain Peel, R.N., who immediately jumped at the proposal, and said, that, with the sanction of the Admiral, Sir Edmund Lyons, he would be only too glad to undertake the service. In consequence of this, Lord Raglan and Sir Edmund went to reconnoitre the position of the ships, and to consider whether the plan was feasible. I understand that Sir Edmund thought that the hazard would be too great; and in the event of the boats and crews being lost, great inconvenience would accrue to the fleet, independently of the respon-

sibility that would be attached to the Admiral who could sanction so desperate an undertaking. The idea, therefore, was given up; but so important did Lord Raglan consider the destruction, or compulsory removal, of these steamers, that orders were given to construct a battery for 3 heavy guns to fire upon them.

General Pennefather arrived yesterday morning at Balaklava, having been on a cruise to Malta and back, for the recovery of his health. He is looking remarkably well; and to-day went up to the front, and resumed the command of the 2nd Division, to the delight of his officers and men.

I have not mentioned the railway for some little time. It is getting on, and at the present moment brings up all the heavy ordnance for the siege, and also a considerable amount of commissariat stores, from Balaklava to Kadakoi; thus saving over a mile of animal transport.

It is reported, and I believe with perfect truth, that the Emperor Napoleon has signified to General Canrobert his intention of visiting the Crimea early in the ensuing spring. This intelligence, when known to the French army, will be received with the highest satisfaction, as the great name which the Emperor bears, and its connection with the imperial army, will be looked upon by them as a good omen of future success.

CHAPTER XIII.

False reports of the newspapers — French do not renew their attack upon the Russian Ouvrages Blancs — General Canrobert's proposal — Councils of war — Deserters — Three-gun battery — It opens on Russian steamer — Fire of our artillery — Death of the Emperor Nicholas — Lord Raglan visits General Pélessier — Effective state of the English army — Lord Raglan's popularity — An artilleryman's opinion of him — The Mamelon — General Todtleben — Arrival of Omer Pasha — Convalescent hospital — Camp races — Huts — Sir John Burgoyne — Railway — Alarm — Death of Surgeon Leblanc — Prince Gortschakoff — Grand sortie by the enemy on the trenches of the Allies on night of March 22 — Death of Captain Vicars — Casualties — Trip to Eupatoria — Colonels Simmons and Ogilvie — Fortifications of the town — Line of circumvallation — Said Ali — Turkish troops at Eupatoria — Russian force in the neighbourhood — Skender Bey — Buildings in Eupatoria — "Henri IV." — Flag of truce — Electric telegraph.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
March 6th, 1855.

SINCE I wrote to you on the 27th ultimo we have had every variety of weather: to-day and the last two days have been beautiful, with a bright, warm sun; before that there was nothing but rain and snow. If we were to believe the information of the newspapers, it would seem that Lord Raglan is to be recalled, and the general Staff all changed. Nobody,

however, gives the slightest credit to the report. General Simpson and Sir John M'Neill are daily expected out here; the former is to be Chief of the Staff, performing the same functions as the Chef d'Etat Major of the French army; and the latter is sent out as the Chief Commissioner from the Government to inquire into and investigate the arrangements and conduct of the Commissariat. Lieutenant-colonel M'Murdo arrived here some days ago. He has been sent out as Director-general of the Land Transport Service about to be organized, and which is eventually to be entirely taken out of the hands of the Commissariat, in which department it now is. Nothing of importance has occurred as regards the siege-works of the Allies since I last wrote.

On the morning of the 24th ultimo, after the repulse of the French by the Russians, Lord Raglan strongly urged upon General Canrobert the importance of renewing the attack, and even offered the co-operation of some of the English troops. However, General Canrobert very properly said, that, as the work was in no way opposed to our trenches, it was a purely French affair; besides which, he doubtless felt that it would be a slur upon the French troops to call in the aid of the British merely to capture an unfinished work. Accordingly, I understand that it was the intention of General Canrobert

that the redoubt should again be assaulted the following night, and for this purpose upwards of 10,000 men were sent into the French trenches of the Inkermann attack. But for some reason which I am unable to explain, this attack never took place. Some, indeed, said that the French troops could not be induced again to attempt the capture of a work which had already cost them so dear. Be that as it may, the attack never took place, and consequently on the morning of the 25th the enemy had reared up, almost by magic, a most formidable earthwork. The opportunity was lost. To assault it now would take twice the force, and probably cause twice the loss of life, that it would a few hours previous.

The following night the Russians commenced another work in rear of the first, of even larger dimensions, and completely commanding it. These are now nearly finished, and present a most formidable appearance, independently of their being armed with many heavy guns. Ever since the 25th, the French have daily informed us that the works were to be attacked the following night; and I believe more than once troops have been sent into the trenches for the purpose; nevertheless no second attempt has yet been made to gain possession of the redoubts in question.

On the morning of the 3rd instant, General Canrobert sent a written communication to Lord Raglan,

to the effect that the Russian works opposite the French attack on Inkermann are of such strength that he thought them almost unassailable under existing circumstances, and he therefore proposed that the allied generals should send to Omer Pasha, and request him to come with 20,000 of his Turks from Eupatoria; and, when thus reinforced, a general attack should be made by the English and French against the north side of the harbour, which, if successful, would complete the investment of Sevastopol. A proposal of this magnitude, of course, would require great deliberation; Lord Raglan therefore decided that a general council of war should be held on the following day (4th) to discuss the matter. This was accordingly assembled, and consisted of the following generals, viz. Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, Sir John Burgoyne, General Bizot, Sir George Brown, General Bosquet, General Jones, and General Niel. Their conference lasted some hours; and proposals were made on both sides. Yesterday was given up for deliberation at the respective Head-quarters of each army; and to-day the same council has assembled, and is, at the moment I write, discussing the whole business.

On the 3rd instant Lord Raglan and the Staff rode down to Balaklava. His lordship went first to the hut of the head-lady nurse (Mother-eldress), who he had heard was very ill with low fever. He

found her in a very depressed state ; and the medical officer who attended her expressed a doubt as to her recovery. Lord Raglan gave directions that every possible attention should be shown to her that circumstances would permit ; and afterwards went through the hospitals, and later inspected the navvies' workshops and stables at the railway terminus at Balaklava.

Some fear has been expressed here by the medical men as regards the healthiness of the town and its immediate vicinity, on the return of the hot weather, from the immense number of bodies that have been interred by our Turkish allies, to say nothing of the hundreds of carcases of animals which have been buried during the last five months. Orders were therefore, some days ago, issued for the construction of several limekilns. The navvies have already built two near Balaklava ; and some sappers and miners are employed in making others up at the front. The lime is to be used for covering the ground where the bodies of our fellow-soldiers or the carcases of animals have been buried. It is also proposed to sow wheat and grass wherever it is thought the surface of the ground may be tainted by the long-continued occupation of troops.

Yesterday three deserters (Poles) came over to us from the enemy : the first, a sailor, who came in from Sevastopol. He gave us the following information :—The four vessels sunk the other day were, 1 three-

decker, 2 two-deckers, and 1 frigate. The three-decker, he stated, was the celebrated "Twelve Apostles." There now remain only six ships of the line in the harbour of Sevastopol; but each is fully armed, with from 70 to 90 guns apiece, and with crews of 640 men. He said that a French sailor had deserted over to the enemy, and was now serving in the Redan battery against the English; also that a few days ago a battalion arrived in Sevastopol, of from 800 to 1000 Greeks and Croats, who had come round from the Danubian Principalities, and that they had volunteered to make sorties against the Allies as often as the Russian authorities may wish. The two Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael are living in the great fort or citadel on the north side of the harbour; and Prince Menchikoff and his Staff also.

The other two deserters came in from the Russian troops on the Tchernaya. One was an officer in the infantry, and the other a private of the same regiment, who had been degraded from the rank of officer, as he states, for some political offence. He speaks French very well. They escaped by persuading some Cossack soldiers to lend them their horses, that they might go to the outposts to look at Bala-klava, and, when they had arrived at their farthest vidette, coolly galloped over to the English cavalry-picket on this side of the valley. When they got a

short distance the Cossacks, perceiving their object, pursued them ; but being fired upon by our dragoons they retired, and allowed the deserters to come over to us without further ado. The officer states that he has been employed in one of the military offices in Sevastopol, drawing plans of the defences of the town, &c., and has also been engaged in a military survey of the surrounding country ; and to confirm his words, he has brought with him some maps and drawings of the enemy's position along the Mackenzie heights. Mr. Calvert anticipates gaining much useful information from him, especially as regards the by-roads in the hilly country between this and Batchi-Serai. If his information proves accurate, it is proposed that he shall be employed at Headquarters to revise and alter our maps of the surrounding country.

Yesterday afternoon Lord Raglan, after visiting the Light and 2nd Division camps, rode on to our new 3-gun battery, constructed, as I before told you, for the purpose of firing upon the Russian steamers at the head of the harbour. Finding this battery completed, his lordship gave orders that the three guns should open upon them this morning at daylight : red-hot shot were to be prepared, in the hope of setting the vessels on fire. Wishing to see the effects of our fire, several officers of the Staff and Royal Artillery, myself included, left Headquarters

soon after 4 A.M., and rode over to the 2nd Division camp, where we dismounted, and proceeded on foot to the advanced French sentries, overlooking the Inkermann bridge. We established ourselves in a comfortable little nook, from whence we should be able to see the whole of the harbour of Sevastopol, as well as our battery. It was still quite dark, and not a sound was to be heard, except the occasional booming of the guns from Sevastopol, on the extreme left of the allied position. Shortly after day broke we could perceive the two steamers lying perfectly motionless on the water, and with our glasses could distinctly make out two persons pacing the deck of each, one of whom was probably the officer of the watch. We waited with anxious expectation some little time, as it was useless firing from our battery until the objects were perfectly distinct.

At 7 minutes after 6 A. M. (20 minutes after daylight) the first gun from our battery fired at a range of 1600 yards against the nearest steamer; the shot fell too short. The range was then changed to 1800 yards, and that shot fell beyond. The other steamer was so far off that after the first few minutes they gave up firing at her and turned all their attention to the nearest. Within 3 minutes after our first gun the whole crew on board the steamer were turned up on deck, and 7 minutes after our opening fire they replied to us from a heavy gun in the stern.

By this time the batteries on the north side, whose guns could be brought to bear upon our 3-gun battery, opened fire with shot and shell, some of them at enormous range. It was not until our 12th shot had been fired that any took effect ; this carried away a portion of the counter of the steamer : the 17th shot hit her between wind and water, just in front of her paddle-wheel, port-side : the 18th hit one of the paddle-boxes, and the 30th and 31st shots also took effect on her. I believe that was all, though some of the officers of the Royal Artillery asserted that she was struck several times more. We continued firing until a quarter after 7 A. M. (altogether throwing 60 shot, 20 of which were red-hot), by which time she got her steam up, and, although apparently, from the slow progress she made, her machinery was damaged, she managed to get round a point of the harbour out of sight of our 3-gun battery. The steamer behaved very well, and in reply to us fired 14 immense shot from her two heavy guns. The Russian batteries on the north side kept up a brisk fire upon us, but ceased directly we did, firing in all 163 shot and shell ; wonderful to say, although our battery was much knocked about by them, and two shells burst actually in the trench of the battery among our artillerymen, we had not a single man killed or wounded.

I thought our practice indifferent, but the officers

of the artillery would not allow that such was the case, as from the fact of our battery being on such high ground, the fire from thence was necessarily plunging, and consequently the object was far more difficult to strike than if they had been able to make their shot ricochet on the water. The exact distance of the steamer was, I believe, 1740 yards. Some of the officers of the Naval Brigade, who witnessed the whole affair, declared that with their gunners they would have struck the vessel oftener, and I think, although the officers of the artillery will not exactly admit it, they are somewhat disappointed with the practice. Indeed one of their senior officers said last night, that, if the steamer remained in the same place 10 minutes, he would undertake to sink her! The result, however, has not been quite equal to his expectations. However, about 12 o'clock this day, information was sent up to Lord Raglan from our look-outs at the front, that the steamer had been taken into shallow water on the other side of the harbour, and apparently careened over, probably for repair, so that after all she is not destroyed. I think it is much to be regretted that Sir Edmund Lyons would not sanction the cutting-out expedition proposed by Colonel Steele and Captain Peel, R.N., as the result would most likely have been more satisfactory, besides being a gallant and daring action. It would also have produced a considerable effect upon

the enemy, and would have added to the already acquired prestige of the Royal Navy.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
March 10th, 1855.

The only event of importance which has taken place, or rather of which we have become aware, since I last wrote, is the death of the Emperor Nicholas. Lord Raglan received a telegraphic despatch on the evening of the 6th (after the post went out), during the time the grand Council of War was sitting, and he not a little astonished the general officers present by reading out the message, which had been forwarded by steamer from Constantinople. It was as follows:—

“Berlin, March 2nd.—Lord John Russell to Lord Raglan.—The Emperor of Russia died this day at 10 minutes past 12. No reason is given for this, but Lord Raglan can depend upon the information.”

I need hardly tell you what commotion this news excited: many declare that we shall immediately have peace; others say that when it is known in Sevastopol, there will be such a panic that we could take the town without any difficulty. However, up to the present time the garrison of Sevastopol do not appear to be aware of it, although a day or two ago

three Poles who deserted from the town, upon being asked the question, said that they had heard of the death of the Emperor eight days previous! that is two days before it took place!

On the morning of the 7th one of Lord Raglan's aides-de-camp (Lord Burghersh) was sent with a flag of truce to take some letters and parcels for some of our prisoners. He went to the extreme left of the French trenches, opposite the Russian Quarantine Fort, and, after sounding and showing the white flag in the usual manner, the firing on both sides, at this part of the lines, ceased. He then went over the parapet and walked up towards the Russian rifle-pits, and was shortly met by two Russian officers. After delivering his letters, &c., he told them that we had received intelligence of the death of the Emperor of Russia: they neither of them seemed exactly surprised, but replied, "that it was not true—that it was a mistake—a false report." Yesterday a Polish officer in the Russian service deserted from the town over to the French, and upon his being asked, he said he had not heard anything of it. One would imagine that the first announcement of His Imperial Majesty's death would have been transmitted to the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, who are now in the neighbourhood.

In the afternoon of the 7th, Lord Raglan went over to the Head-quarters of the 1st French Corps

d'Armée to visit General Pélessier, which command he had taken some days ago. Lord Raglan subsequently visited several other French generals, who all appeared to appreciate the honour done to them. The following day the Field-Marshal, accompanied by the two British admirals (Sir Edmund Lyons and Admiral Houston Stewart), and the generals of engineers and artillery, and their staffs, went through the whole of our left attack, and minutely inspected the works.

In reply to your remark that we have only 15,000 men left in the army here, and that the 'Times' says so, I beg to tell you that both the 'Times' and yourself are altogether misinformed. According to this morning's Parade State, our *effective* numbers are as follows:—We have 920 officers of all ranks; 4480 regimental staff, sergeants, trumpeters, and drummers; 25,196 rank and file: making our effective force in the Crimea, of all ranks, 30,596. Then I regret to say that we have something over 12,000 (I do not know the exact number) sick and wounded: of these 3400 are in the Crimea, and the remaining 8600 are in the different hospitals at Constantinople and other places. There are also 2800 convalescent men who do duty as guards over the hospitals and stores at our different stations in the Turkish dominions, so that the grand total of all ranks is 45,396, forming the British army in the East.

According to the statement made a short time back in the House of Lords by the War Minister, it seems that 56,000 men have been sent from England and our colonies to compose the army under Lord Raglan's command since the commencement of the war, consequently it has lost the services of 10,604 officers and men, who have been killed in action, died of disease and wounds, or have returned home invalided. It must also be remembered that, although many of our sick and wounded may not be fit for service again, still many more will, so that certainly the army is not in so bad a state as the good people of England fancy.

I saw in one of the newspapers the other day a statement that the English soldiers before Sevastopol moved about in wretched spirits, as if they were miserable and unhappy. This is certainly not the case: the men are always cheery, and, although when the weather is bad you may hear a few hearty curses and complaints, still this is quite the exception to the rule.

Now that our men have not such hard work, you cannot ride into any of the camps on a fine afternoon without seeing a number engaged at various games, such as foot-ball, leap-frog, running races, &c. In short, the men look anything but miserable and unhappy. It was only three days ago that I happened to be in one of the camps when Lord Raglan came up.

He spoke to some of the men who were playing at foot-ball, and directly a crowd of soldiers gathered round him; when he moved on they hurraed, upon which all the regiments in the vicinity turned out, and, seeing the Commander-in-Chief, cheered him most vociferously, numbers running along by the Staff, throwing their caps in the air, and shouting in a manner which proved the strength of their lungs. So much for Lord Raglan's alleged unpopularity in his army.

I must tell you an anecdote showing the opinion the men have of their chief. The other day a gentleman (a civilian) was talking to a non-commissioned officer of the Royal Artillery about the siege, &c., and he asked him what the men thought of Lord Raglan, to which he replied that they were all very fond of him, he was such a kind, good-natured gentleman; and then added, "Some do say as how he is rather slow, but then we all knows him to be so uncommon sure. Law, Sir! but you should see the difference between him and the French generals. Lord Raglan, he knows how to command us in action, and does it without noise and confusion, but the French generals do nothing but hallo and swear at their men, and consequently they get bothered, and that's how they lose so many men."

The weather has been quite hot for the last two days, but those who know this climate say that we

shall have more cold and rain before the spring fairly sets in. I have just heard of an accident which occurred on the railroad this morning : near Balaklava one of the trucks got off the line, killed a Spanish muleteer on the spot, and so much injured one of the commissariat labourers that he died two hours afterwards.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
March 17th, 1855.

Much has been done on both sides since my last letter : by the Allies, as regards extending and increasing their approaches to the town ; and by the enemy, in throwing up and improving their advanced works, in order to retard our progress. It was not until daylight on the 11th instant that it was discovered the enemy had commenced a very considerable earthwork on a mound or hillock in front of the Malakoff batteries. This is known by the French as the Mamelon Vert ; and that name has been pretty generally adopted by the Allies. Ever since the 11th the work has increased in size and importance, and at the present moment is a most formidable redoubt. We hear from deserters that no less than 30 heavy guns are to be placed in it, which from its great size may easily be the case ; but they

add that it will be some days before they will be ready to open fire. Immediately the enemy's intention was discovered, two batteries were ordered to be constructed in the English right attack, and also a number of guns were placed in the French Inkermann attack, for the simple object of throwing the enemy's work back as much as possible. Besides this, it was decided that a communication should be established between the most advanced portion of the English right attack and the French Inkermann attack. This communication, or parallel, as it may be properly termed, was commenced by us on the night of the 11th, and by our allies on the night of the 12th; but in consequence of the difficulty of working in a rocky soil, it took several nights before the trench could be completed, as during the day it was impracticable to work at it, on account of the fire kept up by the enemy's sharpshooters in their rifle-pits. However, it is now finished, so as to afford tolerable cover between the two attacks; but it will be some time before the parapet will be of sufficient thickness and strength to render it, comparatively speaking, safe for the passage of troops to and fro during the daytime. Although the fire of the batteries and the French guns have doubtless caused the Russians considerable loss, they have been working steadily onwards until the present time.

It had long been a matter of discussion between

the principal French and English engineers, how far it was of importance to occupy the Mamelon Vert; and I understand that it was part of Sir John Burgoyne's proposition that it should be taken immediately the French commenced breaking ground for the Inkermann attack. This, however, as you already know, has never been attempted, principally because the enemy had established themselves on the high ground above Careening Bay, next the harbour, and in the construction of those two redoubts now known by the French as the *Ouvrages Blancs*, and by us as the *White Works*, gained a flanking fire on the whole of the Mamelon Vert, so that it could not be attacked with any prospect of success until the *Ouvrages Blancs* were also taken, or at any rate their fire silenced. If our Allies had only persevered, and at all hazards gained possession of, and held these works, the Russians could never have even attempted to have occupied the Mamelon Vert.

I think the Russian engineers have displayed great cleverness and ability in the manner in which they have up to the present time conducted the defence of Sevastopol. For some time past the deserters who have come over to us have perpetually mentioned the name of Todtleben as the chief director of the works of the town. He appears to have been only a captain of engineers at the commencement of the siege. At the first sitting down of the allied armies before

the place, when the Russian generals were completely at a loss how best to defend the town, and their engineers were entirely at fault as to the manner in which to fortify the southern side with rapidity, Todtleben stepped forward and made certain proposals for placing it in a proper state of defence. His plan showed so much judgment and talent that Prince Menchikoff determined on following his advice, and gave him *carte blanche* to do whatever he liked. Todtleben undertook to fortify Sevastopol in such a manner that the garrison would be able to resist any sudden attack on the part of the Allies, and hold out the usual term of a siege,—say one month. This was all Prince Menchikoff expected, or even wished, as he hoped within a month from the time of the Allies breaking ground to be able to collect such a force as to ensure the total destruction of the invaders, by attacking them in the field. We all know how accurate the Russian general's calculations were as regards time; for, as you may remember I mentioned to you, we were to have assaulted the town on the 7th of November, a month all but two days from the day the first ground was broken by us.

Although the attack on Inkermann totally failed, one of its great objects was attained by the enemy; for it had the effect of preventing our assault on Sevastopol, which, although doubtless a great error

on the part of the Allies, fully answered the purpose of the Russians.

We now see more clearly than ever how much to be regretted it is, that Lord Raglan's wish to assault the town after the battle of Inkermann was not carried out; but the smallness of the force under his command obliged him, sorely against his will, to give way to the objections raised by the French. The Russians, failing in their attempt to raise the siege by the battle of Inkermann, turned all their energy to improving and strengthening the defences of Sevastopol, as they could not but perceive that the works of the Allies made but tardy progress, and that after the entire cessation of the first bombardment they had considerably the advantage of fire over us; besides the daily augmentation of the garrison giving them actual strength, it increased their moral courage and confidence to resist the attempts of the Allies to reduce their stronghold. Now that the severity of the winter is past, on the very first days of spring they seize upon the opportunity of extending their defences, and begin by the construction of the *Ouvrages Blancs*, only as a preliminary to one of far greater importance on the *Mamelon Vert*, as a hornwork for the better defence of the key of Sevastopol—the tower of Malakoff.

On the 12th instant Omer Pasha arrived early at the English Head-quarters in compliance with the

wish of Lord Raglan and General Canrobert ; and in the afternoon of the same day a Council of War was held, consisting of the three Commanders-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, and the two admirals of the English and French fleets. It was then arranged, I understand, that a division of Egyptian troops (mustering about 12,000 men) then at Constantinople should immediately be brought up to Eupatoria ; and on its arrival there, Omer Pasha should embark with 20,000 men, and land them at Kamiesch, for the purpose of co-operating with the Allies. This movement, however, of the Turkish troops will take upwards of a fortnight.

On the 15th instant Lord Raglan, accompanied by the Staff, rode down to Balaklava in the morning, and was there the greater part of the day. On his entrance into the town, his lordship was met by General Simpson, who had just landed, and who had mounted his horse to ride up to Head-quarters to pay his respects and report his arrival to the Field-Marshal. He continued riding about with Lord Raglan all the day. The Commander-in-Chief then visited the Convalescent Hospital, which has lately been established on the heights, close to the old Genoese castle. The hospital is to consist of some 30 large huts, which have been sent out from England, especially constructed for that purpose, and, when completed, will admit of from 350 to 400 men.

At the present time there is not accommodation for more than 200, about which number were there. The majority of the men looked well; and the medical officers stated that they thought it a particularly healthy locality.

You will be glad to hear that the health of the army has most wonderfully improved of late; last week I understand, 500 men were discharged from the field hospitals to return to their duty, and this week, they say, upwards of 700 have come out. A month ago even a single man going back to his regiment would have been thought quite a wonder. Lord Raglan had an interview at the commandant's house during the afternoon of the same day, with Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, the Commissioners sent out by the Government to inquire into the state of the Commissariat: they had only arrived from England a day or two before.

There have lately been several races in the allied camps. The first "Spring Meeting" was held on the 5th instant, in the valley of Karani, and was conducted by officers of the cavalry division and Royal artillery; since that several others have taken place in the different camps. Yesterday there was a meeting not far from here, got up by the officers of the French cavalry, in which those of the Chasseurs d'Afrique played a conspicuous part, and to-day there are races in rear of the camp of the 4th Divi-

sion ; so you see the sporting community here are not altogether without their favourite amusement.

A very large number of men are now hutted ; upwards of 700 of these wooden residences have been brought up to camp and erected. They would be *capable* of holding some 17,500 men, but, as many of these huts are used as hospitals, to say nothing of those for officers and regimental stores, probably not more than 14,000 men of the English army have a roof over their heads. An officer of the Etat-major told me two days ago that, according to their last return, the French had 270 huts erected, which, as they crowd them rather more than we do, would be *capable* of holding 7000 men : however, not more than half of their huts are employed as shelter for the men, so many being used for the Etat-major and the military offices at their different Head-quarters.

General Simpson took up his residence here yesterday, and commences his functions as Chief of the Staff to-morrow. Since my last letter, our casualties in the trenches have been more severe in consequence of the advance of our parallels towards the works of the town. They amount to 9 killed and 30 wounded. Of the killed, one was an officer of engineers, Captain Craigie, who was killed by the bursting of a shell on his way from the trenches, in the Woronzoff-road ravine. One other officer was wounded.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
March 20th, 1855.

Sir John Burgoyne leaves the Crimea this afternoon and returns to England. He will be much missed by all those who have ever had anything to do with him on duty, or who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Lord Raglan in particular, I believe, regrets that he is obliged to return home; from the first he has been of the most valuable assistance to him, and by his sound judgment and counsel has aided him in almost every operation of the army. There are many in England who choose to underrate Sir John Burgoyne's military ability, and who call in question his engineering skill; but considering that he has the experience of upwards of fifty years of military life, I think it would be difficult, at any rate in the English army, to find one better qualified to occupy the important place Sir John has filled since the commencement of the campaign.*

The railroad is getting on with considerable rapidity; the other day Lord Raglan rode down to

* I may here remind the reader that it was Sir John Burgoyne who first suggested to Lord Raglan the celebrated flank march; that it was Sir John Burgoyne who, from the first moment of the Allies sitting down before the town, pointed out the tower of Malakoff as the key of Sevastopol; and that the general plan of attack against the town, finally adopted by the Allies, was only an enlargement of that first proposed by him.

inspect the works. A stationary engine has been erected on the top of the high ground on which General Vinoy's brigade is camped ; this engine is placed there to drag the train of waggons up the inclined plane which commences at the village of Kadakoi. The length of the incline is about half a mile. The greater portion of the supplies for the army are now brought up to just this side of the stationary engine, which saves animal transport a distance of nearly three miles.

The Russian work on the Mamelon has not as yet opened fire, but has daily increased in magnitude, and, with the exception of the Malakoff, is, I believe, by far the strongest work round Sevastopol, and will doubtless, before it is captured, cost the Allies very heavy loss : for taken it must be before we can get into the town. The advanced parallel connecting the English right attack with the French Inkermann attack has been greatly improved during the last few days, but nevertheless it is far from an agreeable trench to walk along during the day, as, from the rocky nature of the ground, the bottom of the trench is full of inequalities, so that frequently you are obliged to stoop or else expose your head and shoulders above the parapet ; if you do, whiz, whiz, come the bullets, and you are lucky to escape untouched. Besides which, the Russians appear particularly jealous of this communication, and not un-

frequently fire salvoes of six or eight gun-shells at some particular portion of the parapet, which generally succeeds in making a breach or gap in it, rendering a passage along the trench past such places a service of considerable danger. For the last ten days, the French have had nightly encounters with the enemy for the purpose of occupying certain rifle-pits which the Russians have made in front of the Mamelon.

On the night of the 17th instant, soon after 9 o'clock, we heard the assembly sounding in all the camps. Lord Raglan immediately ordered out the horses, and Colonel Steele and one of the aides-de-camp were sent forward to ascertain what was going on. At Head-quarters the firing sounded as if it was in front of our trenches, and it was consequently supposed to be a general attack by the garrison on us. On nearing the camp I think I never heard a quicker rattle of musketry, interspersed with the roaring of heavy ordnance; one's impression was, it must be the commencement of a general action. However, on arriving up at the Light Division, we were greatly relieved to find that the whole cause of the furious fire was merely the French from their Inkermann trenches endeavouring to possess themselves of the enemy's rifle-pits. The whole of the English troops were turned out immediately this tremendous fusillade was heard, as every one thought that it was a general attack by the Russians. The night was pitch dark,

and the thousands of flashes from the muskets of the troops engaged had an exceedingly pretty effect; every now and then there would be a pause of two or three moments, and we all thought that the affair was over; but all at once a bugle-sound would be heard, and the firing recommenced more rapidly than ever. The upshot of all this apparently desperate fighting was, that the French took five small rifle-pits, which they have since held; and although these have nightly been attacked by the enemy, who have obtained temporary possession, they have again been driven out and the pits retaken by our allies. These constant combats at night are extremely harassing to the men in the trenches, though they do not occasion the loss of life that might be expected from the desperate fusillades which so frequently ensue. The quantity of ammunition which is expended during each night in the trenches is something quite prodigious. I understand that during the last week, in the two English attacks alone, there has been an expenditure of 35,000 rounds of ball-cartridge every twenty-four hours!

An unfortunate accident happened the same night (17th). Assistant-surgeon Leblanc of the 9th regiment, in the camp of the 3rd Division, left his tent about midnight to go out a short distance to see where the fighting was going on, the heavy musketry fire having attracted his attention. It is supposed

that in returning he must have mistaken his way, for he wandered to the right rear of the French trenches, in the ravine running up from the Man-of-War Creek. He was challenged by a French sentry (according to the man's statement) three times, and, making no reply, was fired at by the sentinel, and shot dead on the spot. The unfortunate officer, though short-sighted, is said to have spoken French well, so that it is difficult to understand why he did not answer the sentry's challenge. General Canrobert, in reporting the circumstance next day to Lord Raglan, expressed his deep regret at the unfortunate occurrence, and said the sentry had been carefully examined, and, from the man's straightforward answers and readiness to state all particulars, it was clear that it was purely accidental.

The last few days we have had several deserters from the town, and from their accounts it would appear that Prince Gortschakoff has taken the command of the Russian army in the Crimea, *vice* Prince Menchikoff placed on the shelf. They also say that there is a report in Sevastopol that Prince Menchikoff died on his way to Moscow. They have another story that a Russian regiment at Perekop, for some unknown reason, has revolted, and in trying to suppress the riot several officers were killed. However, there is no reason for believing either of these last two pieces of intelligence: they

will probably both prove to be nothing more than Russian camp "shaves."

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
March 31st, 1855.

I have missed writing to you for the last two mails in consequence of having been absent at Eupatoria, to which place I was sent the day after my last letter. But before entering into any details of my trip I will relate to the best of my ability an important affair which took place here in the trenches on the night of the 22nd instant. You may remember that the French have for some time past been endeavouring to capture the rifle-pits between their most advanced parallel and the Russian work on the Mamelon. Being unsuccessful in their attempts, they decided upon a novel expedient against works of so small a nature, viz. that of making a flying sap, by means of which they hoped to be able to take several of the enemy's rifle-pits in reverse. They had nearly effected this object; that is to say, the head of the sap was almost in line with the rifle-pits, and they had intended making a general attack upon them in the course of a day or two, when the sap should be completed. The Russians, naturally anxious to stop the progress of a work which would inevitably lead

to the loss of their pits, determined on making a sortie in force, to endeavour, if possible, to destroy the French sap. Accordingly, on the evening of the 22nd, soon after dark, the enemy began collecting troops in the redoubt on the Mamelon, besides placing as many men as possible in their different rifle-pits. A large column of infantry was also posted in the Karabelnaia ravine between the Malakoff tower and the English right attack, where they were completely under shelter from the fire of our guns. The French appear to have been to a certain extent prepared for an attack from the enemy, for they say that they saw the troops collecting soon after dark, and indeed in the earlier part of the evening the Russians commenced a very sharp fire on the French advanced trench. Our allies consequently had a considerable body of men in their trenches, I understand upwards of 8000. Such was not the case in the English trenches: no more than the usual guards were there, except that we had two working parties constructing new batteries on the extreme left of each of our attacks.

It was shortly after 11 P.M. that the enemy advanced in great force, and assaulted the head of the French sap, at the same time falling upon their parallel in two different places, from both flanks of the Mamelon. Our allies, after a gallant resistance, were forced to relinquish their parallel. It was, however, but for a moment, as they were immediately

led back, and drove the enemy again over the parapet. Three several times did the Russians come on, and endeavour to take the French parallel; but they were always met with such steady determination and so heavy a fire from the Zouaves who occupied it, that their energy was unavailing; and, finally, after upwards of an hour's fighting, the Russians retired, having been totally unsuccessful in their attempt to destroy the French sap, and, with the exception of upsetting a few gabions at its head, did no further damage. On the other hand, our allies in their last repulse of the enemy levelled several of the rifle-pits which had caused them so much annoyance.

About the same time that the enemy commenced their attack on the French, a portion of the column stationed in the Karabelnaia ravine, between the English right attack and the Malakoff batteries, advanced up, and meeting with, comparatively speaking, slight resistance from the few men in the parallel which connects the English and French attacks, crossed it, and then threw themselves on the extreme right of our trenches. They were here met by a detachment of the 97th regiment, who guarded this part, under the command of Captain Vicars, whose gallantry and courage doubtless materially contributed to the repulse of the Russians. Most unfortunately for the service he was killed while in the act of charging the enemy at the head of his men, shouting out, "This

way, 97th!" It is said that he knocked over two Russians before he received his death-wound.*

The enemy's career was checked in the first instance by the gallant conduct of the detachment of the 97th. They were immediately reinforced by a portion of the 77th, under the direction of Major Gordon, R.E., who, with great judgment, conducted the repulse, and finally drove the Russians out of the parallel. He was unfortunately severely wounded by a musket-ball through the arm, and will for some time be unable to resume the important duties which he has, from the commencement of the siege, so ably performed.

After our troops had driven back the Russians on the right, a considerable body advanced up the Woronzoff-road ravine, and turned the *left* flank of our advanced trench of the right attack. It was here that one of the fatigue parties I spoke of was at work; but on the enemy approaching, the officer of the Royal Engineers who superintended the con-

* "Captain Vicars's death must be regarded as a great loss. The country has been deprived of the services of an officer who was as much distinguished for his devotion and bravery in the field, as for his piety and kindness in private life. . Not a man in the 97th but will always remember poor Captain Vicars with respect and admiration, as combining the Christian man with the gallant soldier. Alas! that this should not be more frequently met with in the army!"—*Extract from a private Letter.*

struction of the battery, Colonel Tylden, caused the men of the 7th and 34th regiments to be formed up by their officers, and promptly led them against the Russians, who, after a severe struggle, were driven off, but not without inflicting on us considerable loss. Among our killed were two officers, both highly spoken of, Captain Browne of the 7th Fusiliers, and Lieutenant Jordan of the 34th regiment; besides which, Colonel Kelly, of the latter regiment, was made prisoner, after being severely wounded.

The Russians also made a third attempt at about the same time on the extreme left of our left attack, and got into an unfinished battery, which was at the moment in course of construction. The working party of the 20th regiment immediately repulsed the enemy, but not until they had succeeded in carrying off Captain Montague, R.E., who was in the trenches directing the work. Our losses were severe; but considering the numbers in which the enemy attacked, and the amount of casualties they met with in their various sorties, they were not so heavy as might have been expected. The following will show the losses of the Allies:—

		Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
English	{ Officers ..	3	3	2	85
	{ Men ..	18	48	11	
French	{ Officers ..	13	12	4	642
	{ Men ..	169	361	83	
Casualties		..	..	..	727

On the 24th instant there was an armistice for some three hours to bury the dead on both sides ; and according to the reports of those who were appointed to count the Russian bodies, it appears that over 400 were left on the ground ; and from statements made since by deserters, their losses in the different sorties on the night of the 22nd amounted to from 1200 to 1500 men. I must now take you back to the 21st instant, on which day I set off for Eupatoria. For convenience' sake I will copy from my journal :—

March 21st. — M—— and myself rode down to Kamiesch Bay in the morning, and soon after mid-day got on board the “Beagle” gunboat, commanded by Lieutenant Hewitt, a very nice fellow, who received us with naval hospitality. We were soon under way ; the day was fine and bright ; there was a heavy swell on, but the sea was not rough. It was a fine sight, steaming through the English and French fleets, and passing Sevastopol, which looked as bright and clean as the first day I had seen it, when on the reconnaissance just previous to the landing of the allied armies in the Crimea. We coasted as near in-shore as possible, passing the Belbek and Katcha rivers, and afterwards had a good view of the field of Alma, where so many of our brave countrymen rest in peace. I should have enjoyed our little voyage much, had it not been for the awful rolling of the gunboat. I have never been

on board any vessel, even a yacht, which rolled in the tremendous manner that we did. None of the crew could move to and fro without laying hold of something or other. We had some half-dozen bullocks on board, which were being taken up as fresh provisions for Her Majesty's ships at Eupatoria ; and I do not remember anything more ludicrous than seeing these poor animals, who were fastened by their horns to a spar amidships, tumbling down, first on one side and then the other, according as the ship rolled. I asked the commanding-officer if he could work the guns in such a swell, and he said that it would be perfectly impossible, as they would roll overboard. So it seems to me that these vessels will be of little use, except in still water.

From the scene of our landing (Kalamita Bay) to Eupatoria, the coast was strewn with wrecks of vessels of all sorts, which had gone on shore in the hurricane of the 14th of November ; the most remarkable of these being the "Henri IV.," French line-of-battle ship. After a voyage of three hours and a half we arrived at Eupatoria. The bay was full of transports and ships-of-war, of which four were English steam-frigates. At first there was some doubt as to whether we could land, in consequence of the surf which set in round the bay. However, after a long pull, we landed at the Quarantine, after getting rather wet.

In our walk to the town we met Omer Pasha riding. He received me with great kindness; and I delivered the despatches which I had brought from the English Head-quarters. We then walked up to Colonel Simmons's quarters, and were welcomed by him with his usual hospitality. We afterwards visited Colonel Ogilvie, who commands a Turkish regiment of infantry in General Cannon's brigade; and as he had two rooms in his house unoccupied, he was good enough to lodge us. General Cannon is now on leave in England, but is shortly expected to return here. We dined in the evening with Simmons.

March 22nd.—This morning Omer Pasha sent M—— and myself two of his horses, magnificently caparisoned; and in company with Colonel Simmons we rode all round the defences of Eupatoria. The fortifications immediately about the town were traced and constructed under the direction of French officers of the Corps du Génie. I was surprised to find them very faulty: the works are too numerous and complicated, and the flank defence bad. They are constructed on, I think, the worst system that can possibly be adopted for the protection of a town where the ground around is a dead flat, viz., that of having small cavalier batteries at intervals above the parapet and ditch, which are round the town; consequently they are marked objects, so that an

enemy with a powerful artillery could batter and destroy each in detail.

At about 1000 to 1200 yards from the works just mentioned a line of earth-fortifications is now in course of completion : they were traced out by, and constructed under, the sole direction of Colonel Simmons. The principle is novel, and one, I believe, never before employed. It appears to have great merit ; the system of the works being a series of redoubts, with front and rear bastions (consequently octagon shape), so placed as to give each other perfect flank fire, and connected together by a curtain, with breaks in the centre of each, of such width that the garrison could sally out, if necessary, without difficulty. I was astonished at the admirable manner in which the Turkish troops had executed these works, though they certainly had every possible advantage, viz. an unlimited number of men (from 8000 to 10,000 being daily employed), and a ground well adapted for excavation. The parapets of all this new line of works were on an average of 18 feet thick, with ditches in front upwards of 12 feet broad.

When this line of circumvallation is complete, it will enclose a space round the town capable of camping with the greatest ease a force of 60,000 men, and although apparently of great extent, Colonel Simmons assures me that with 10,000 men the redoubts would be amply garrisoned, and able to re-

sist a far larger force than the enemy has yet brought up to attack the town. I was for the greater portion of the day with Colonel Simmons, and had the opportunity of gaining much information from his shrewd remarks and thorough knowledge of military science.

In the evening, Colonel Ogilvie entertained us at a capital dinner; and we had the pleasure of meeting several English officers attached to the Turkish army, all of whom gave us a most cordial reception. Amongst the guests was one strange character, by name Said Ali, who is interpreter to General Cannon. He afforded us much amusement by his stories and adventures. According to his account, his father was a Frenchman, and his mother a Turkish lady; but he was born in England, and consequently *he says* he is more English than anything else! He speaks seven or eight languages, and has been all over the world; was three years in a whaler in the South Seas; two years at Bagdad; and, later, for many months on the Euphrates, where, when starting for Europe, he exchanged his second wife with a Persian merchant for a white donkey! Being a Mahometan, he indulges in a plurality of wives, having two down at Constantinople and one here; the latter is a pretty little Tartar girl, whom he has married since his arrival at Eupatoria.

March 23rd.—This morning we received an in-

vation from Omer Pasha to dine with him in the evening ; and at the same time he sent us horses and a cavalry escort to attend us. We went out about mid-day, and rode again all about the position and visited the most advanced Turkish outposts. The Russians still continue to have a cordon of videttes round Eupatoria, but at such a considerable distance that it must take a very large force of cavalry to supply them. Troops of artillery also appeared at intervals in rear of the line. Staying for a few moments at one place to observe the movements of a body of the enemy, we were fired at by the videttes, but without effect.

In the evening we went to dine with Omer Pasha. He gave us a very fair French dinner, with capital claret. We sat down twelve at table : the party consisted, besides Colonel Simmons and ourselves, of eight officers of his Highness's Staff, two only being Turks, the remainder all foreigners. The dinner passed off very pleasantly ; Omer Pasha was very goodnatured in manner, and told some wonderful stories, which, of course, we were bound to believe as gospel. However, he also gave us a good deal of useful information, and said that his force now at Eupatoria consisted of 56,000 men ; of these he has effective about 43,000 infantry, 3000 artillery, and 3500 cavalry ; and reinforcements of Egyptian troops are daily arriving. He spoke of his coming to the

Allies before Sevastopol with 20,000 men early next month, or as soon as we could transport them from Eupatoria to Kamiesch. He stated that, from Tartar spies and other information, he understood that the Russian force in the neighbourhood of Eupatoria consisted of near 40,000 men; of these 9000 were cavalry and 4000 artillery.

March 24th.—We had intended to-day to have returned to Kamiesch, but last night it came on to blow, and in consequence there was so much surf in the bay that no communication could be held with the shipping. We are therefore obliged to remain until the sea calms down. Between the intervals of the torrents of rain that fell during the day we walked about the town and paid several visits; first to Omer Pasha, with whom we had a long talk, and afterwards to M. Koscelszky, chief of the Turkish Staff; he is a Pole by birth, and is one of the cleverest officers Omer Pasha has under him. We then went to visit Skender Bey, also a Pole by birth, who has been for many years in the Turkish service. He commands their cavalry here, and in a late reconnaissance towards Sak was suddenly attacked by a body of the enemy, on which occasion his men turned tail and left him to his fate. He was instantly surrounded and near being made a prisoner, but with desperate determination he fought his way through the Russians, not however without being badly

wounded in the head and hand. He afterwards had two of his fingers amputated. He is quite an old man, and spoke with a hatred of the Russians which I never heard surpassed: he told me he had fought against them as a youth in 1812, during the French invasion of Russia, when serving in the Polish Lancers under Prince Joseph Poniatowsky. Poor man! he looked dreadfully ill, and appeared to suffer greatly from his wounds, but said he hoped it would not be long before he should be able to avenge himself upon the "*sacrés cochons*" (meaning, of course, the Russians).

I went into the principal Greek church here, which is used by the Turkish commissariat as a storehouse for provisions, and afterwards I visited the Jewish synagogue, which is the only clean place I have seen in Eupatoria. Entering through a low Moorish arch, I found myself in a courtyard, paved with marble, and with two rows of marble columns across it, leading into the synagogue, which is a small building, very Oriental in appearance, the light coming in mellowed tints through stained glass windows. This was the chapel for the men; passing across another small court beyond, I came to a similar building for the women; on one side is a schoolhouse where some forty little creatures were learning the first rudiments of reading and writing. I think I never saw such pretty children—such enormous eyes, and

black eyelashes; and although but scantily clothed, they appeared generally pretty clean. The old preceptor, a most venerable-looking Jew, with a long white beard, received us with great respect, and, through our interpreter, offered to show us over the establishment. However, there was not much to be seen, but he pointed out some handsome presents which had been given by different members of the Russian Imperial family, besides several curious monuments, one to the memory of the Empress Catherine II., who had made a grant of land to the synagogue. There appears nothing striking in the town of Eupatoria itself: Omer Pasha resides in the best house, and perhaps the next best is occupied by the French commandant. Then all the Government buildings are used as hospitals for the Turkish troops. Many of the best houses were destroyed when the French first came here. The streets are in the most dreadful state, being generally a foot deep in mud and slush, and emitting a most dreadful odour; however, generally speaking, there is a narrow trottoir on one side of the streets, which renders it possible to walk about without plunging knee-deep in mud. The town still contains a considerable number of inhabitants, many Tartar families having come in from the country on the first arrival of the Allies. I understand that many of them suffer considerably from want of food, and that serious

apprehensions are entertained from the difficulty of supplying the Tartar population with provisions. However, the English and French authorities do what they can for them, and a certain number of rations are daily issued to these unfortunate people. The able-bodied men are all employed either by the Turkish government, or else by the English and French commissariat, as labourers, but the vast proportion of the population consists of old men, women, and children, who, of course, are of but little use to the Allies in any way.

March 25th.—The surf was still so great that it was impossible to communicate with the shipping; we consequently determined to have a ride along the coast to look at the "Henri IV." and other vessels that had been wrecked on the shore. Accordingly we started, going along the narrow strip of land between the sea and the Sasik Putrid Lake (a great salt marsh). It was a melancholy sight to see the débris of so many ships. After riding about two and a half miles we came alongside the "Henri IV.," which had stranded so high on shore that we got on board by means only of a small bridge made of planks and ropes. We found a lieutenant of the French navy on board, who received us with great kindness and showed us over the remains of the ship. All her guns and stores have been taken out, as well as the planks of each deck, with the exception

of the poop and forecastle: the guns have been removed to Kamiesch and are now employed in the French batteries against the town, and the planking of the decks has been made into platforms for the same.

The French have constructed a small earthwork or redoubt just in front of the "Henri IV.," and have erected inside a small wooden barrack, in which reside 60 seamen and also a small Turkish guard. The redoubt is armed with four 32-pounder caronades, so that they are well protected against any attack of the enemy. After staying there some little time and drinking a glass of grog with the French officer in charge, we rode back to the town and once more went round all the works. To-day being Sunday, the Turkish troops employed in constructing the new fortifications had a holiday for washing their clothes; however, Colonel Simmons, and the Turkish officers immediately under his direction, were up at cock-crow this morning, and have been employed during the whole day in tracing out three new redoubts on the left of the position, which they hope will be completed in another week.

March 26th.—The sea having at last gone down sufficiently, it was decided that the "Manilla" steam-transport should start this evening, or early to-morrow morning, and take us back to Kamiesch. We therefore went to take our leave of Omer Pasha and re-

ceive his despatches for the English and French Head-quarters. To-day was very hot, and the only thing to be done was to go once more to visit the fortifications, as, at any rate, there is always something to be learnt in seeing the construction of great earthworks. I took leave of Simmons and Ogilvie and went on board the "Manilla" late in the evening. There was a good deal of swell, and, not feeling very comfortable, I turned into my berth.

March 27th.—I awoke this morning from the noise of getting under way, about 4 A. M., but thought it prudent to lie still until accustomed to the motion. Got up at 8 A. M., and, going on deck, found we were just steaming past the valley of the Alma; the day was magnificent and the sea calm. We moved along but slowly, as the "Manilla" has only an auxiliary screw of 60-horse power. We arrived at Kasatch Bay soon after 10 A. M., and immediately went on board the flag-ship, the "Royal Albert," and saw Sir Edmund Lyons and Colonel Yea (7th Fusiliers), who has been staying with him for the last few days for his health. We then heard of the serious attack made by the Russians on our trenches during the night of the 22nd. Shortly after I landed and rode up to Head-quarters on a troop-horse of one of Lord Raglan's escort, so as to deliver without loss of time the despatches I carried. Her Majesty's steam-transport "Himalaya" was in Kasatch Bay when I

left it, with 370 artillery horses on board ; not before they are wanted.

March 28th.—Received letters to-day of the 16th instant from England, by which mail Lord Raglan heard from Lord Cowley at Paris that the Emperor Napoleon does not intend coming to the Crimea.

March 29th.—Very hot, baking day. This morning I was ordered to go with a flag of truce to take letters, money, and baggage for some of our officers who are prisoners in Sevastopol. Accordingly I went to the Head-quarters of the 1st corps d'armée for an order from General Péliissier to go into the French trenches. I had some little conversation with him about old times, as I had known him at Oran, in Africa, two years ago. Having got a pass, I rode down as far as practicable, and then dismounted and walked to the most advanced French parallel, near the Russian Quarantine Fort ; when arrived there, after the flag of truce had been put up, and the bugle had been sounded in the trench, the firing ceased on both sides, and immediately a white flag was hoisted, in answer to mine, on Fort Alexander. I crossed the parapet and advanced up to the Russian rifle-pits, beyond which place the sharpshooters would not allow me to go. I was then in the Quarantine ground of Sevastopol, and close to the church and cemetery. In a few minutes a Russian officer approached on horseback and took the letters, money, &c., which I

had brought. I observed the gold lace on his cap, coat, and sword was covered with crape; he told me the whole army was in mourning for the Emperor. How they can have got their crape is quite a puzzle! He did not appear anxious to enter into conversation, so we bowed and retired. Immediately I had repassed the parapet, and the Russian officer was out of sight, the white flags were hauled down and the firing recommenced on both sides.

During the last two days nothing of importance has occurred, except that the enemy have opened embrasures in the Mamelon against the French trenches, and the fire from the guns in them has cost our allies many casualties; I suppose that in a day or two they will open other guns upon us. I enclose you a detailed Parade State of the army under Lord Raglan's command of the latest date that I could procure, viz. March 26th.* The weather has changed again, and yesterday and to-day have been very cold. I have never mentioned to you that a field telegraph, which was sent out here near two months ago, is now in use. Lines have been laid down from Head-quarters to Balaklava, to each of our attacks, as well as to a station between the 3rd and 4th Division camps, and another between those of the 2nd and light Divisions. Lord Raglan can

* *Vide* Appendix A.

therefore now communicate in a few minutes with any of his generals at any time, day or night. It is also a great advantage to have it in the trenches, as in the event of any sortie by the enemy, reinforcements can be sent for and instructions asked by the commanding officers in either attack.

CHAPTER XIV.

I moralize — French proposals — Russian force — Lord Raglan's tact — Preparations for the wounded — French losses in their Inkermann attack — Lord Raglan visits the trenches — His disregard of danger, and consideration for his Staff — Railway accident — Flag of truce — Popularity of Lord Raglan — Number of guns in the trenches of the Allies, April 9th — Second bombardment — Badness of the weather — Reinforcement of Turks — General Bizot wounded — French attack ambuscades on the left — The naval brigade — Arrival of the submarine telegraph — French again attack ambuscades and take them — English casualties from 9th to 13th inclusive — French explode mines in front of Bastion du Mât — English magazine blown up — General Bizot's burial — Admiral Bruat's opinion — Reconnaissance under Omer Pasha — 77th regiment attack and capture three Russian rifle-pits — Death of Colonel Egerton — A gallant drummer-boy — English casualties — Council of War — Proposed assault of the town — General Canrobert refuses to co-operate — His unpopularity — Projected expedition to Kertch — Omer Pasha returns to Eupatoria — English casualties — Russian losses during second bombardment.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
April 7th, 1855.

It is twelve months this day since I took leave of you all; a year of great events and one which I shall remember above all others to the end of my life. I can hardly believe that it is a whole year since I last saw you, time has flown so quickly by. How I wonder if another is to elapse before seeing you

again; I cannot but trust that the same Power which has preserved me through so many dangers will some day restore me to my home.

I have omitted before to mention to you, that for some time past it has been in contemplation to commence a new bombardment, and on more than one occasion during the last month it has been next to decided upon. But one thing or another each time has put it off; first, it was thought necessary that the French should take the Ouvrages Blancs, and then, when they found that impracticable, they decided to erect batteries to fire against these works. Then the Mamelon sprang up, and the inventive energies of the English and French engineers were tasked to find places where best to erect batteries to subdue its fire.

It was arranged at the end of last month that the Allies should open fire from all their guns on the morning of the 3rd of April. But on the night of the 1st, General Canrobert sent to Lord Raglan proposing to put it off for a few days, and suggested that a Council of War should be held the following afternoon. This accordingly took place, and, after much discussion, it was decided to put off the bombardment until the morning of the 5th instant. This was done entirely at the particular request of the French generals, for they hoped by that time, that Omer Pasha and his 20,000 Turks would have arrived from Eupatoria. The French, it appears,

have got an idea, which they say is gained from information received through their spies, that when the Allies assault the town, the Russian army outside will attack the rear of our position or Balaklava, and they think our forces are not strong enough to carry on successfully two things at once, viz. the assault of the town in front, and the defence of our position in rear.

We have learnt from our spies that, since the fine weather, the enemy have largely increased the number of troops near Tchorgoun, and have also brought up a large force from the interior to the Mackenzie Farm heights. The troops at the former place are stated as being from 10,000 to 12,000 in number, and those at the latter no less than 30,000, so that they could bring any morning against Balaklava or any other portion of our lines at least 40,000 men. It is an attack from these troops that has so much alarmed the French generals.

I ought to observe that Lord Raglan is much against the Turks coming here: I understand he thinks that there may possibly be some difficulty in carrying on effective operations with three armies differently organised, each with an independent chief, and no one to command the whole. Omer Pasha considers himself senior both to Lord Raglan and General Canrobert, as he has been a marshal for more than a year. Then, unfortunately, the French

do not pay that respect to Omer Pasha that is due to his rank and command, and it requires all Lord Raglan's well-known tact to keep the commanders-in-chief of the French and Turkish armies on that footing of cordiality so necessary to successful co-operation. Lord Raglan has also another reason for not wishing for the Turkish troops; he thinks bringing more men to this already crowded ground, now that the hot weather is coming on, likely to promote sickness and disease, especially as our Mahometan allies are not noted for their cleanliness in camp.

After all these changes, you will not be surprised to hear that the French on the 4th instant again insisted on the day of our opening fire being put off, giving as one of their reasons that they did not wish to engage the enemy on Good Friday! This, we think, is all humbug, and a very lame excuse to gain time, so that Omer Pasha may arrive with his reinforcement before the bombardment commences. Some delay has taken place in the embarkation of the troops from Eupatoria, in consequence of the Turkish authorities not having sent up more than half the Egyptian division. Omer Pasha will therefore only bring with him 13,000 instead of 20,000 men. They are expected in the course of to-morrow; two-thirds of the troops are to be transported here by the French, and the remaining third by us.

The bombardment is now fixed to commence on the 9th, when the Allies will open with from 450 to 500 pieces of ordnance. It is generally believed that the Russian armament opposed to us consists of about 600 guns and mortars, but it is impossible to ascertain at all accurately by the most careful observation, as there is no doubt that in many places there are cannon behind the parapets, the embrasures of which have not yet been unmasked.

Great preparations have been made for the reception of our wounded in the ensuing bombardment; there is extra accommodation for 300 patients in the regimental hospitals, and a large number of huts, capable of holding upwards of 500 men, have been prepared in rear of the 3rd and 4th Divisions; and in the Sanitarium, on the heights above Balaklava, there is room for about 200 patients. There are also five good-sized steamers fitted up as hospital-ships, which will contain, with comparative ease, upwards of 600; so that, at the present moment, arrangements have been made for the housing of at least 1600 wounded soldiers, and it is proposed that, should the number of our casualties require it, a regiment now in huts should be put under canvas, and consequently room would be obtained for nearly 500 more wounded. However, it is to be hoped that, although doubtless our losses will be far more severe than during the last bombardment, yet we shall not require so much

accommodation as is already prepared. The fact of our trenches daily advancing, and also the extra fire poured upon us from the large work on the Mamelon, has much increased the number of our casualties; besides which, the enemy have joined their rifle-pits in front of our right attack, so as to make a sort of parallel, and in this they place a large number of sharpshooters, who keep up an incessant fire of small arms on our men in the advanced trenches.

Our losses from the 1st to the 5th instant inclusive were as follows:—1 officer killed (Lieut. Bainbrigge, R.E.) and 3 wounded; 15 men killed and 52 wounded. Total casualties, 71; consequently our average loss is rather over 14 per day. The French daily suffer severe loss, especially in their Inkermann attack, from the fire of the Mamelon and the Russian rifle-pits in its front. I have been told upon good authority that in this attack alone the French have daily upwards of 100 casualties: this is doubtless caused to a great extent by the fact of their crowding their trenches with troops; I believe it to be no exaggeration when I say, that they have six men where we have one; consequently a shot or shell falling in any part of the trench usually disables several men. Colonel Vico told me the other day that a single round shot from the Mamelon killed 12 men and wounded 4 more in their advanced trench of the Inkermann attack.

On the 4th and 5th instant, Lord Raglan went through the whole of the trenches of both attacks, and even visited some of our rifle-pits, much to the anxiety of the members of the Staff who were with him. He was accompanied everywhere by General Jones, and, to our horror, we saw them on one occasion coolly walk across the open from the 2nd to the 3rd parallel; fortunately they were not discovered by the enemy soon enough to send round shot at them, but the musket-balls came whistling about in dozens, and why neither were hit seemed wonderful. I should tell you that Lord Raglan will never allow (on ordinary occasions) any of his Staff, except perhaps one aide-de-camp, to follow him when he exposes himself in this manner.

The railway, which is now completed up to the Col, took its first trip with living freight from there to Balaklava yesterday afternoon. It most unfortunately did not reach its destination without a bad accident. Several hundred men of the 71st regiment, stationed near the village of Kadakoi, were carried up on the backs of mules and land-transport animals in the morning to the front, and were then sent to complete the construction of two new batteries in the left attack. They remained in the trenches until late in the afternoon, after having executed their work in the most creditable manner. It was the first time the men of this regiment had been in the trenches,

and they were fortunate in having only one casualty, and that of no importance, being merely a bullet graze, although they were fired at repeatedly. After coming out of the trenches, they were to march to the Col, from which place they were to go on the railway waggons down to Balaklava. Head-quarters being but little out of their way, Lord Raglan had ordered that they should come there on their road that he might inspect them, and he also desired the commissariat at Head-quarters to prepare a quantity of tea and coffee, &c., for them, and he would regale the officers in his own house. All this was done, and, after his Lordship had inspected and thanked them for the good work they had performed, they were marched off to the Col, and were soon all seated in the waggons. Mr. Beattie, the chief of the railway works, was in the train. They started at a moderate pace, but, the incline being considerable, it increased until the breaks became useless: the first truck got pushed off the line and was broken to pieces, and almost all the men in it badly hurt. The two next trucks were also much damaged, and the men pitched out and severely bruised. One man of the 71st and also a navy were killed, and over ten men had to go into hospital. One is so badly hurt that they doubt his recovery, and another had to undergo amputation of the leg. This unfortunate accident was immediately telegraphed to Lord Rag-

lan, who became aware of it within five minutes of its occurrence. He instantly despatched his Military Secretary, Colonel Steele, and two aides-de-camp to render assistance, and also ordered his carriage to be sent down to be of any use to carry the injured men. No blame is to be attached to the railway people: Mr. Beattie, who behaved with great judgment and coolness, was himself badly bruised.

I was sent again early this morning to take in a flag of truce, to give over some letters from Russian officers to their friends, and others to English officers prisoners of war. I went as before to the advanced French trench on the extreme left, near the Quarantine Fort. The Russian officer who met me was a very civil, gentlemanlike man, and began by apologising for keeping me waiting, which I had been doing for some ten minutes. In giving him the letters for our officers who are prisoners, I asked after them; he said that none remained in Sevastopol, except Captain Montague (Royal Engineers), who is living with an aide-de-camp of the general commanding the town: he added that he was very well; and that last night he had had "*un verre de grog*" with him, and they had passed a very pleasant evening together. Before we parted we shook hands, and he expressed a wish that we should meet some day on more familiar terms.

An enormous quantity of ammunition has been

brought up to the front, and put into the different batteries, and in the two artillery parks. The submarine electric telegraph arrived some little time ago at Constantinople, and has since gone on to Varna, from near which place it is to be laid down, and carried across the Black Sea to the Crimea. H.M.S. "Terrible" has gone from the English fleet before Sevastopol to assist, and it is hoped that before many days elapse it will arrive, and thus enable the commanders-in-chief out here to communicate with their respective Governments at home in the course of a few hours. General Scarlett, who has been commanding the cavalry division since the recall of Lord Lucan, left the Crimea on the 2nd instant, and is now on his way home on urgent private affairs. He is temporarily succeeded by Lord George Paget, who is senior cavalry officer in the Crimea.

Since writing the above, the Commander-in-chief has returned from riding round the divisions along the front, and those of his Staff who were with him tell me that his progress through the camps was a perfect ovation, the men all turning out and cheering him wherever he went, it being pretty generally known that the bombardment is shortly to recommence.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
April 10th, 1855.

We have at last really commenced the bombardment: yesterday morning at a quarter past five the guns in all the batteries, French and English, opened fire. They consist of no less than 464 pieces of ordnance: of these, 303 are in the old French attack, 109 in the English attacks, and 52 in the French Inkermann attack. It rained all through the night previous to our opening fire, and literally poured the whole of yesterday and part of last night: however, now it is clearing up. I think yesterday was the worst day we have had since the dreadful storm of November last. It had its advantages too; in the first place, we completely took the Russians by surprise, for they did not generally open their batteries until half an hour after us, and during that time the Allies must have thrown upwards of 2000 shot and shell into the town. In the second place, the Tchernaya river is so much swollen from the quantity of rain which has fallen, that it has overflowed its banks some distance on each side; and the portion of the valley of Balaklava on which the celebrated Light Cavalry charge took place is also partly under water, and the ground so deep as to be quite impracticable for the movement of troops, or at any rate for cavalry and artillery.

Consequently we may consider our rear at the present moment to be almost unassailable by the enemy.

At the commencement of the day our artillerymen were allowed to fire at will, though towards the middle of the day, when the enemy's fire had greatly diminished, orders were given not to exceed the rate of 120 rounds per gun in the twenty-four hours. We have between 500 and 600 rounds per gun in all the English batteries, and from 600 to 800 rounds per gun in our artillery parks, besides as much more at Balaklava ready to be brought up to the front should it be required. Our batteries have continued blazing away ever since, and have done great execution, many of the Russian batteries being in the most complete ruin, and, with the exception of one or two, they none of them fire above one shot to five of ours. Of course this weather is dreadfully trying to those in the trenches; and, as an instance, I may mention that in one of the batteries which I visited in our right attack, the artillerymen serving the guns were standing almost up to their knees in water; unfortunately there was no help for it, as from the nature of the ground at this point it was impossible to drain the battery.

In spite of the weather the men all appear in the highest spirits, and are most anxious to be allowed to attack the town. I fear at present there will be little chance of that, as I understand already that

General Canrobert does not think sufficient impression has been made to warrant an assault. It appears that he has received instructions from the Emperor Napoleon not to assault unless perfectly certain of the result not only being in our favour, but also not to attempt it if the sacrifice of life should be great, as his Majesty is anxious for operations in the field against the enemy to be commenced immediately. Lord Raglan takes quite a different view ; he is for assaulting the town without delay, as he thinks that the longer it is postponed the more difficult it will be to accomplish ; for as the season advances reinforcements will be daily arriving to the Russians, and he doubts the feasibility of carrying on with energy operations in the field as well as continuing a siege of such gigantic dimensions. However, one drawback at the present moment to a general attack on Sevastopol would be, that in consequence of the badness of the weather the allied fleets could not in safety go in near enough to the Russian sea batteries. Not that it is intended for the ships again to engage the forts, but merely as a diversion in our favour, as it would oblige the Russians to keep manned the sea defences, and they would consequently have fewer artillerymen to serve the guns in the works against the Allies. Nevertheless, we may consider the commencement of this bombardment satisfactory.

The English losses, I am delighted to say, are,

comparatively speaking, trifling; yesterday, I understand that they did not exceed 15 killed (one an officer, Lieutenant Twyford, R.N.) and 30 wounded (one also an officer of the Naval Brigade, Captain Lord John Hay). Total casualties, 45. This is a very small number in comparison with our loss on the 17th of October, which, as you may remember, was 144 casualties. I understand that our loss today, at present, has even been less than yesterday. Great credit is due to the officers and men of the Royal Artillery and of the Naval Brigade, who have so assiduously worked the guns with unceasing energy under most trying circumstances.

Omer Pasha landed on the 8th instant, bringing with him a strong brigade of near 5000 men, having been preceded the night before by Ismael Pasha with a division of 9000 Turks. This reinforcement of near 14,000 men has been landed at Kamiesch, and is now encamped near that place; their destination is to be the high ground near the Col, as being midway between Balaklava and the heights before Inkermann, so that they will be available to be sent to either place in the event of an attack from the enemy on any portion of the rear of our position. Our casualties from the 5th to the 8th instant, inclusive, were 3 men killed and 15 wounded.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
April 14th, 1855.

Perhaps the shortest way will be for me to give you extracts from my journal :—

April 11th.—We kept up the same incessant bombardment all last night, and throughout the day. I understand that we have seven guns disabled by the fire from the town, and unfortunately the roads and trenches are in such a dreadful state that it is quite impossible to replace them. 300 men were employed for some hours last night trying to get some guns into the two unarmed, last-constructed batteries in the left attack, but they were unable to move them. The greater part of this day has been fine, and for some hours it was quite hot and sunny. This afternoon, General Bizot (Chef du Corps du Génie) was shot by a bullet through the head, fired from one of the enemy's rifle-pits, the ball entering in under his jaw and left ear, and lodging in his right cheek. He was at the time passing from the English right attack to the French Inkermann trenches, in company with General Niel. It was at first reported that General Bizot was killed ; but although, doubtless, he is dangerously wounded, still the doctors hope that he may recover. The loss of his services at the present moment is a most unfortunate circumstance, and every one feels for the poor

old General, who is much respected for his undaunted courage, independently of his great military talents.

April 12th.—The French kept up a heavy fire of shells and rockets during last night from their Inkermann attack; we only fired at intervals, as it was found necessary to repair our trenches; besides which, we were desirous of getting some fresh guns in battery. As it was, we managed to place four 32-pounders in the six-gun battery in the advanced parallel left attack. The French had a serious affair last night on their extreme left: they have been contemplating for some time past an advance against the Russian ambuscades. These are rather more than rifle-pits, being a sort of small quarries, probably where stone or rock have been taken out for building purposes; and they are close up to the cemetery of the quarantine. The night before last the French had attempted to take this ground, but finding the enemy in force, did not actually attack. However, last night a large number of troops were told off for the purpose, and in the first instance advanced with great resolution, drove the enemy off, and immediately commenced destroying such of the ambuscades as would be useless to them, and altering the remainder to suit their own purposes. The Russians did not long leave them unmolested, for in a few minutes a column of infantry advanced, covered by a cloud of

skirmishers, and opened so destructive a fire against our allies, that they speedily had to retire and abandon the work which they had commenced. The Russians, taking advantage of the confusion of the French retiring, poured into them an incessant fire, causing them very severe loss. The fusillade continued on both sides until the first dawn of day. The French admit that this affair cost them 250 casualties!

This morning the fire from the English batteries was re-opened with renewed vigour, but during the first few hours we suffered some loss, especially amongst the sailors of the naval brigade, whose batteries in our right attack it appeared the enemy were particularly desirous of destroying, and for this purpose brought every gun they could to bear upon them. But Captain Peel, R.N., with his usual judgment, in spite of this heavy cannonade, commanded the sailors' batteries with the utmost coolness and courage, and succeeded in completely silencing the enemy's guns, which were firing at them from the Malakoff and Mamelon. Lord Raglan sent to request Sir E. Lyons for more men to fill up the casualties in the naval brigade, and also to enable us to open some fresh guns. In consequence Sir Edmund has promised to send up 200 men from H.M.S. "Rodney" to-morrow morning. General Bizot is said to be better; the ball was extracted this morning from his cheek.

April 13th.—Last night, in consequence of the fatigue party losing their way in the great darkness, only 1 new gun was got into its place; this was a 82-pounder in the advanced six-gun battery left attack. This morning our most advanced battery right attack, armed with eight 8-inch guns, opened for the first time with wonderful effect and completely shut up the Malakoff batteries it bore upon. However, the Russians, on the other hand, opened a heavy fire again from the Mamelon both on ourselves and the French. Our fire continued with vigour throughout the day, except the unlucky six-gun battery left attack, which was overpowered by the concentrated fire from the Russian Redan, Barrack, and Garden batteries: several of our artillerymen in it were killed and wounded and 1 gun disabled, otherwise our casualties were few during the day.

This morning a division of Turks (9000 strong) marched from near Kamiesch to the heights above the Col and the village of Kamara, under the immediate command of Omer Pasha; five other battalions of Turks (over 4000 men) were sent by him to Balaklava to be attached to the force under Sir Colin Campbell's command. The end of the wire of the submarine electric telegraph was landed about mid-day near the monastery of St. George: it has come in a direct line across the Black Sea from Cape Kalagria, which is about 30 miles north of Varna.

The telegraph is now laid down from England to the Crimea, with the exception of from Giurgevo to Varna; but that will be finished in less than a month. As it is, Lord Raglan can communicate with the Government in London in about 30 hours. The first detachment of the 10th Hussars arrived to-day from Egypt, mustering 100 men and horses, exclusive of officers.

April 14th (this day).—The English right attack and the French Inkermann attack continued to fire incessantly during the night. In our left attack we were pretty quiet, so that we might repair damages and place guns, &c. In this we were very successful, as we got eight 32-pounders into the unarmed battery in the advanced trench to the right of our left attack, and replaced the disabled guns in the six-gun battery, besides getting five 13-inch mortars in the first parallel left attack, and replacing a disabled 68-pounder right attack. The French made a successful advance last night on the left, and captured several of the enemy's ambuscades near the cemetery of the quarantine. This, however, was not done without great loss. It had been determined by the French Generals that this ground should be captured cost what it might, as their daily losses from the Russian sharpshooters in these pits could be borne no longer. Accordingly, two columns of attack were organised: one—from their extreme left;

consisting of about 800 men, was to advance, capture and hold six ambuscades near the quarantine cemetery; the other—consisting of about 500 men, was to move out of one of their advanced batteries near the centre of their trenches, and attack and hold four large ambuscades above the others. It would appear that the enemy were prepared to receive this attack of the French, as they were in great force. The two French columns advanced simultaneously; the left, after a considerable struggle, was successful, and got possession of, and held, the six ambuscades. The right column, in the first instance, was not so successful, as on their attacking the enemy's pits they were received by a most murderous and well-directed fire, which killed and wounded numbers of our allies, who were soon obliged to retire to their trenches; but immediately afterwards the supports were brought up, and a second attack was made with perfect success, though not without some hard fighting. The Russians were obliged to abandon their pits, which our allies continued to occupy during the night, and contrived by this morning to turn and connect together, so as to make a sort of new advanced trench. They had 6 officers killed and 11 wounded, and 207 men killed and wounded. It is impossible to estimate the Russian loss, but, from the number of dead which they left behind, it must have been considerable.

The English Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, is expected here in a few days from Constantinople on a visit to Lord Raglan; it is said, with a political object connected with the Turkish Government. A grand Council of War assembled at Headquarters this morning, and is only just over, having lasted several hours. The object of it was to discuss the feasibility of an assault. I know no details, but I understand that the general features of the Council were, Lord Raglan and the English Generals for, General Canrobert and the French against, an assault, so I fear we are as far from taking Sevastopol as ever. I conclude with giving you the casualties of the English from the 9th to the 13th inclusive.

				Killed.	Wounded.
Army	{	Officers	1	4	
		Men	23	51	
Naval Brigade {	{	Officers	2	4	
		Men	18	64	
Total				44	123
Casualties				167	

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
April 21st, 1855.

The incidents of the last few days have been so varied that you will better understand me if I continue to give you extracts from my journal.

April 15th.—It rained all last night, but to-day it has been fine. During the night we repaired our trenches and parapets, and orders were previously sent down to reduce the fire of our artillery from 120 rounds per gun to 80 in the twenty-four hours. Colonel Parlby (10th Hussars) came up to report his arrival to Lord Raglan to-day; as senior officer he takes command of the division of cavalry in the absence of General Scarlett. General Bizot died this afternoon, although up to within an hour of his death the doctors thought that he would recover.

Shortly after dusk, Lord Raglan, accompanied by the Staff, rode up to the Maison d'Eau to meet General Canrobert and his Staff, to see three mines blown up between the most advanced French sap and the Russian Bastion du Mât. The object of this was to open the ground between the works of our allies and the enemy, and, immediately after the explosion, men were to rush into it, and form an advanced trench; in this manner it was hoped to crown the salient angle of the Bastion du Mât, with the ulterior object of establishing a battery on it which would fire on the inner defences of the town. The explosion did not take place until half-past 8 P.M., when only two out of the three mines blew up. Directly after, the Russians opened a most furious cannonade from all their batteries opposed to the French, and also some on us. They evidently thought it was an

assault on the town, for five minutes after the explosion their parapets were lined with men, who kept firing peals of musketry indiscriminately towards the French; besides which, they flung showers of hand-grenades and threw numbers of small Cohorn shells at the advanced portion of the trenches. Indeed, every species of missile seemed to have been used by the Russians on this occasion. It was a magnificent scene, but our excitement was cut short by the rain, which fell in such quantity that we were all wet to the skin in a few minutes. The torrent of fire continued for about an hour, when the enemy probably found out that no assault was intended, and consequently relapsed into sullen silence.

April 16th.—It rained a good deal during last night, but this morning and throughout the day it has continued fine. We learnt this morning the effect of the explosions in front of the Bastion du Mât last night. Immediately after the two mines had been fired, about 300 volunteers rushed in and commenced clearing away and opening out a communication between them. This work, however, was one of great difficulty, for, independently of the nature of the ground, which was very hard and rocky, and the intense darkness, the Russians continued pouring upon them showers of missiles of all sorts; but, in spite of their severe losses, our allies, in the most gallant manner, continued working, and suc-

ceeded to a great extent in effecting their purpose ; but as no communication could be made with the trenches in so short a space of time, it was thought advisable to abandon the greater portion of the new work shortly before daylight this morning. A heavy fire was kept up throughout the night on the town from the batteries of the Allies. About 2 P.M. a shell from the enemy burst in front of the door of the magazine in the centre of our eight-gun advanced battery, right attack, and blew it up with a tremendous explosion. It for a time completely ruined the battery, the earth thrown up literally burying some of the guns and filling up seven of the embrasures. However, one gun was unhurt, and the officer of the Royal Artillery in command of the battery, Captain Dixon, immediately ordered it to be fired, and continued to reply from this single gun to the tremendous cannonade which the enemy, seeing our disaster, poured upon us. Nothing could exceed the gallantry of this officer, whose coolness and courage on this occasion excited the admiration of all. By the explosion we lost 1 man killed, who was in the magazine at the time (the poor creature was blown to pieces, nothing but one of his hands being found), and 9 other men of the Artillery wounded, but fortunately only 2 seriously. Several men of the infantry (guard of the trenches) were more or less injured by the falling of earth, stones, &c., blown up

into the air by the explosion. Lord Raglan, who was riding up at the front at the time, and saw our misfortune, after giving directions for restoring the battery to a serviceable state, went and visited the poor men who had been hurt. This is the first occurrence of the sort that has happened to the English during the siege.

At 3 P.M. Lord Raglan and the Staff rode over to the French right Engineer park, to be present at the ceremony of the burial of General Bizot. Omer Pasha and a large Staff, and all the French general officers off duty were present, besides numbers of other officers, and as many as could be spared of the officers of the Royal Engineers also attended. The body lay in state in a hut which had been fitted up as a "chapelle ardente" for the occasion. The service was performed by the three senior priests attached to the French army, and, after the principal persons present had sprinkled the coffin with holy water, it was removed about a hundred yards off to the place of interment by men of the Corps du Génie. At the termination of the religious ceremony, Generals Canrobert, Pélessier, and Niel made orations over the grave. It was a striking scene, but I did not think it so impressive as our own simple service.

April 17th.—The eight-gun advanced battery in our right attack, and in which the magazine was blown up yesterday, was repaired during last night,

and this morning opened as if nothing had happened: this is very creditable to our engineers. Orders were sent down to the batteries to reduce our fire to from 30 to 40 rounds per gun daily. This is in consequence of an arrangement which has been come to between the allied generals that the assault of the town shall not take place for eight or ten days, in order to give time for the French to take the Mamelon and the Ouvrages Blancs, which General Canrobert has pledged himself to do in the course of a few days. I was told this morning by Captain L——, R.N., that a day or two ago he met Admiral Bruat (Commander-in-Chief of the French Fleet), who began by complimenting him on the admirable manner in which the English sailors had behaved during the siege. In course of conversation Captain L—— asked the Admiral when the town was to be assaulted, and why it was not done at once? Admiral Bruat replied, "I will tell you the reason why: the English have advanced their batteries to within 600 yards of the town, and they and their General all want to go in! The French have got within 60 yards of the town, and their General don't like and won't go in."

Five hundred of the 10th Hussars landed to-day, with their horses, at Balaklava; the remainder are expected immediately. Lord Raglan ordered that one of the Russian rifle-pits in front of our right

attack, which has been annoying us much during the last few days, should be taken and occupied to-night by our troops.

April 18th.—During the night the rifle-pit ordered by Lord Raglan to be attacked, was taken and occupied by our men, and a strong working party was employed on the left of the right attack in commencing a sap towards the Russian Redan; 40 yards were completed; altogether it was a good night's work. To-day has been magnificent; but nothing of importance worth recording has taken place.

April 19th.—Last night the Russians made two sorties on the French from the Bastion du Mât, probably with the object of preventing our allies from completing the trench and work commenced by them on the night of the 15th instant, after the explosions. They were in both instances speedily repulsed, but the loss on both sides was considerable, the enemy leaving many dead bodies behind them, and our allies having 61 casualties. The latter were particularly unfortunate yesterday, as I understand from Colonel Vico that during the last four-and-twenty hours they have had no less than 12 officers and 132 men killed and wounded!

There was a reconnaissance made early this morning under the direction of Omer Pasha, for the purpose of ascertaining what the enemy's force on

the Tchernaya river is, as we have been led to believe from spies and others, that the greater portion of the troops had been withdrawn for the purpose of reinforcing the army on the north side of Sevastopol. Omer Pasha's force consisted of 12 battalions of Turkish infantry, a regiment of French light cavalry (Chasseurs d'Afrique), and a battery of artillery: two squadrons of the English heavy cavalry, two squadrons of the 10th Hussars, and a troop of horse artillery. They proceeded shortly after daylight from the plain immediately in front of Bala-klava, and, passing by the village of Kamara, advanced towards that of Tchorgoun, the Cossack videttes retiring before our skirmishers, without attempting to come in collision. At one moment a few rockets were fired by the French artillery at a picket of Russian cavalry, which speedily dispersed them, though apparently without doing them any injury. The enemy drew up what force they had on the heights above the village: it consisted of but 2 battalions of infantry and 4 guns. The object of the reconnaissance being accomplished, Omer Pasha ordered the troops to withdraw. I should have mentioned to you that Lord Raglan and General Canrobert with their respective Staffs were present during the latter part of the reconnaissance, but only as spectators, not wishing to interfere in any way with Omer Pasha's arrangements. He afterwards expressed

to them the pride he had felt in commanding English and French troops in the field, though but on so trifling an occasion, and tendered his thanks for the compliment thus paid him. Lord Raglan ordered that the remaining three of the enemy's rifle-pits immediately in front of our right attack are to be taken to-night by our men. For this purpose, a few extra companies are sent into the trenches of that attack.

April 20th.—Early last night the three Russian rifle-pits were taken at the point of the bayonet, without a shot being fired, by a party of the 77th regiment. This was done at about half-past 9 P.M. The Russian sharpshooters, being taken completely by surprise, never attempted any resistance, but ran away as fast as they could, and we only succeeded in making prisoners 1 cadet and 3 soldiers: no casualty happened amongst our men then. They immediately set to work and commenced turning the pits and connecting them with the sap from our advanced trench. About 2 o'clock this morning, however, the Russians came down in force to retake the pits which we occupied: our men, with great courage, but very foolishly, rushed out to meet the enemy, and immediately found themselves under an awful fire, and in presence of an overpowering force. The Russians, daunted by the determined attitude of the English troops, did not come on, but after firing a few volleys

retired, leaving us in possession of the pits. But our loss was severe. Colonel Egerton (77th regiment), who had commanded the attack, and who had shown the greatest coolness and bravery, was killed by one of the last musket-shots fired by the enemy, as was also a young officer, Captain Lemprière, of the same regiment, who was much beloved, and whose gallant fate was mourned by all his comrades; 5 other officers were wounded. We had 4 men killed and 31 wounded, all of the 77th. The 33rd regiment, which was in support, had also 9 casualties. Before daylight we abandoned two of the pits, as it was found that sufficient cover had not been made in so short a time to occupy them for the ensuing day; but the nearest and largest pit was retained and connected with the sap from our advanced trench, and good cover obtained so as to hold it against any force of the enemy.

April 21st (this day).—Last night the enemy again attacked us with the same object, that of retaking the pits, but, as we were prepared for them, they were driven off with considerable loss, and with comparatively speaking little to ourselves. We again re-occupied the two rifle-pits captured the night before, but the Engineer officers, finding that they were in the line of fire from some of the enemy's batteries, decided that it would be best only to fill them up and open a fresh trench somewhat in their

rear. *A propos* of the rifle-pits, I may mention to you a circumstance that occurred at their capture the other night. A drummer-boy of the 77th regiment went with his comrades in the first rush against the enemy's pits, when he saw a Russian trumpet-boy trying to clamber over the parapet in order to get away. He was immediately collared by our drummer, who, having no arms, began to pummel him in truly British fashion. The Russian boy, not understanding this mode of treatment, tried to grapple with him, but in this he signally failed, as the English boy threw him on the ground, made him a prisoner, and took his trumpet from him. He afterwards gave it to Sir G. Brown, who liberally rewarded him for it, and praised him much for his courage and daring. Lord Raglan, hearing of the circumstance, also made the boy a present.

Lord Raglan attended the burial of poor Colonel Egerton this morning ; it took place just in front of the camp of his regiment, close to the Woronzoff road, just within sight of Sevastopol. Numbers of officers of all ranks of the army were present at the funeral, and many a proud eye shed a tear of regret over the remains of one of the finest officers in her Majesty's service. Lord Raglan feels much the death of Colonel Egerton, as, independently of his high qualities as a soldier, he was endeared to him as a private friend. The following is the return of casualties in

the English force from the 14th to the 20th instant inclusive, viz. :—

						Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	..	..	..	..	..	4	11
Men	..	..	..	..	..	45	205
Total	..	..	..	..	..	49	216
Casualties	..	..	..	..	..		265

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
April 28th, 1855.

I regret to say that the siege is once more at a standstill, that is to say, the bombardment is over, and we scarcely fire a shot during the whole day, the enemy replying in about the same ratio. On the morning of the 24th instant, there was a great Council of War held at the English Head-quarters between the principal Generals of the English and French armies, when it was arranged that we should increase our fire again to 120 rounds per gun in the twenty-four hours; and the assault was fixed to take place at 1 P.M. this day. Every preparation was made, the storming parties told off, the smallest details entered into, and, in fact, every precaution taken to ensure success. It is not worth while, as the attack never took place, for me to enter into the details; suffice it to say that the English were to have assaulted the great Redan in two columns, which were to have advanced on each face of the enemy's work. If suc-

cessful, the capture of the town was looked upon as certain. To render our success more probable, the French were to assault in heavy columns the Mamelon redoubt and the Ouvrages Blancs, and it was thought that the fact of their attacking the former work would so far occupy the enemy in the Malakoff batteries that they would be too much engaged in assisting the Mamelon, to interfere materially in preventing the English assault on the Redan. On the left of the allied siege-works the French were to attack in three distinct places, viz. Bastion du Mât, Bastion Centrale, and the Bastion de la Quarantine, and immense masses of infantry were told off for that purpose. Well, on the 25th instant, about mid-day, General Canrobert sent two general officers of his staff to Lord Raglan to inform him that on further consideration he could not allow his troops to assault, as he and his principal generals had come to the conclusion that it was not practicable. He added another excuse, which was that he had received an official notification of the arrival of the remainder of the Imperial Guard at Constantinople, as well as very large reinforcements, to the amount of 20,000 men, which formed the corps of reserve; such being the case, he considered that it would be more prudent to wait until this important addition to the French army could be brought up to the Crimea, as it would materially help to ensure success. Of course Lord

Raglan had no other course to pursue than to counter-order the increase of our fire, and give up all hope of an immediate assault. I need hardly tell you how much disgusted we all are at the vacillating conduct of General Canrobert, who never seems to know his own mind two days together. No one knows what trouble and annoyance these constant changes of opinion at the French Headquarters give Lord Raglan, and how very difficult his position is, the more so as people in England appear generally to attribute the delays to the fault of the English Commander-in-Chief. No member of the British Government who really knows the state of affairs dares say anything in defence of Lord Raglan that would compromise General Canrobert; as they are so fearful of in any way endangering the alliance between us. It is said that General Canrobert is getting very unpopular with the French army here, as it is become pretty generally known that he is the great obstacle in the way of an assault on the town.

I must tell you that yesterday and the day before (26th and 27th instant) there were grand reviews of the French corps d'armée. On the 26th the 2nd corps (General Bosquet) was reviewed on the rear of the plateau overlooking the valley of Balaklava. Something like 35,000 men were on parade. General Canrobert made a speech to the officers of each division, in which he informed them that shortly

there would arrive a very large reinforcement from Constantinople, and subsequently, in conjunction with their allies, they would be in a position to assault Sevastopol. He ended each of his addresses by saying, "If we cannot get in at the door, we must contrive to creep in at the window." On the troops marching past, the commanding officers of brigades and regiments endeavoured to inspire the men with some sort of enthusiasm, but even the old cry of "Vive l'Empereur" scarcely met with any response; some regiments marching by in complete silence. I was not present myself at this review of the 26th, so I only speak from hearsay; but yesterday (27th) I witnessed the great parade of the 1st corps (General Péliissier), which took place on some ground immediately in rear of their old siege-works. Near 40,000 men were on the ground; of these about 2000 were of the Imperial Guard. General Canrobert addressed the officers much in the same strain as the day before, and afterwards the whole marched past. Lord Raglan was invited to attend, which he did, accompanied by his Head-quarter Staff. With the exception of the Imperial Guard, scarcely a single regiment cheered as they passed their commander-in-chief. Some of the French Staff officers afterwards told me that General Canrobert was much annoyed at this, as he thought it a proof of waning popularity, if not of discontent. I must say the appearance of

our allies was magnificent, and the Imperial Guard marched past in a manner which would even have been creditable to our own.

Lord Stratford and his family arrived in her Majesty's ship "Caradoc" at Balaklava on the 26th from Constantinople: Lord Stratford has taken up his residence at Head-quarters in a room which had been occupied by Sir John Burgoyne.

For some time past, Lord Raglan has had the intention of forming an expedition for the purpose of capturing the town of Kertch, and gaining possession of the small fort of Yeni-Kale, thus opening the Sea of Azoff. It had been Lord Raglan's intention not to have attempted this until after our assault on the town, but now that this event has been postponed by the refusal of General Canrobert to co-operate, Lord Raglan immediately bethought him that, in the mean time, an expedition against the above-mentioned places might be speedily undertaken. His proposals were most eagerly seconded by the Admirals of the English and French fleets, who are only too happy to have a chance of doing something more congenial to them than merely watching Sevastopol. General Canrobert, however, was against the proposal, but finally withdrew his opposition and consented to allow a portion of his troops to be sent in conjunction with some of our own. A Council of War is immediately to assemble for the purpose of making arrange-

ments to carry the proposals into effect. Lord Raglan has given orders that the Commissariat and Land Transport Corps should have in readiness a sufficient quantity of provisions and baggage-animals to embark at a moment's notice. This has already been done, and the expedition is to set off in the course of a few days.

I never mentioned to you that on the 22nd instant we received intelligence that a large force of the enemy were advancing on Eupatoria. The report was first brought to Head-quarters by some of our spies, and it was subsequently confirmed by two of our ships, which were coasting along, and saw a large force in movement in the direction of Eupatoria. On Omer Pasha being informed, he was much alarmed for its safety, and expressed his wish to go there without delay. Accordingly, a private Council of War was held at the English Head-quarters by the Allied Generals soon after midday, when it was decided that Omer Pasha should set out for Eupatoria the same evening, and that 9000 of his troops should at once march down to Kamiesch to be in readiness to embark early the next morning for the same place, where it was hoped they would arrive and be landed by 4 P.M. All this was carried into effect, but no attack by the enemy has taken place as yet, and Omer Pasha has reported to Lord Raglan that he considers, now that the line of circumvallation constructed

under the direction of Colonel Simmons round the town is completed, that he is capable of withstanding the attack of any force the enemy may bring against him.

In reply to your query as to how we find our way about on dark nights when sent out on duty, I must tell you that, in the first place, there are sundry lights up at different places in camp, as landmarks. At the English Head-quarters we have a red light, which is placed on the top of a flag-staff erected for the purpose; then at the general hospital, in rear of the 3rd and 4th Divisions, which is on a commanding position, a green light is shown. The French also have lights at their different head-quarters. But supposing at night I am sent out with orders, &c., for any particular division, I take the general direction from a field-compass; the points of the compass in which they lie have been carefully ascertained for that purpose. Those most likely to be of use are as follows from the English Head-quarters:—

1st Division	N.N.E.
2nd and Light Division . . .	N. by E.
3rd Division	N.N.W.
4th Division	N.
Head of Balaklava harbour .	E.S.E.
French Head-quarters . . .	W.
Head - quarters 2nd Corps	
d'Armée (General Bosquet) .	E.N.E.
Maison d'Eau	N.W.

The casualties in the English force are as follows from the 21st to the 27th inclusive:—25 men killed, and 2 officers and 94 men wounded; total casualties, 121.

We have received from good authority the following table of the losses of the Russians during the second bombardment, in Sevastopol; but it does not include the artillerymen who perished at their guns.

From the 9th to the 19th April inclusive:—

					Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	..	..	..	..	25	89
Men	..	..	..	..	1177	4872
					<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	..	..	..	..	1202	4961
Casualties	..	..			<hr/>
					6163	

CHAPTER XV.

Expedition to Kertch agreed upon — Vacillation of General Canrobert — Expedition sails — General Canrobert causes it to be recalled — Our indignation against the French — Gallant affairs of the 1st and 2nd of May between the French and Russians — French capture ambuscades and nine Cohorn mortars — Suspension of arms — Severe loss on both sides — Expedition returns — Council of War — French lines round Kamiesch — Arrival of General La Marmora and Sardinian infantry — Effective state of the English army — Cholera — Miss Nightingale and M. Soyer — Sorties from the town — English casualties — Proposed movements of the allied armies — Lord Raglan's objections — General Canrobert offers him the supreme command, and then refuses to give his sanction to the Field-Marshal's proposals — Resignation of General Canrobert — General Pélissier succeeds to the command of the French army — Respect of the latter for Lord Raglan's opinion and judgment — Sardinian army — Reinforcements — Council of War — Expedition to Kertch again arranged — Reconnaissance along the coast — Alupka: its beauty, garden, &c. — Orianda — Spoliation by the French — Yalta — Gallant attack of ambuscades by the French on May 22nd and 23rd — Their frightful losses — The Allies take up the line of the Tchernaya — Expedition to Kertch — Extracts from despatches.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
May 1st, 1855.

WE have the most beautiful May-day after a week of damp, raw weather. I hope it may be an omen of future success, though at present things look

gloomy enough. I told you in my last letter that an expedition against Kertch had been agreed upon by the Commanders-in-Chief of the English and French armies, and that a Council of War was to assemble to arrange preliminaries. Well, the Council was held on the 29th ult., and the following arrangements made:—the French were to send a division of 8000 men under the command of General d'Autemarre, and we were to send about 3000 men, under the command of Sir George Brown, who was also to have the chief direction of the expedition. It was intended that Kertch should be taken by a coup-de-main, and it was expected that there would be no difficulty in doing this, as we know that there are no inland fortifications, only several heavy batteries looking seaward, which command the Straits. It was proposed to land the force this side of these batteries, and then by taking them in reverse, they might easily be captured. The Russian garrison of the town is known not to exceed 8000 men, and indeed it is doubted whether there are as many; it is said there are no troops nearer than Argin, a small town in the interior, on the direct road between Arabat and Kertch, at a distance of about thirty miles from the latter place, and there, it is supposed, are about 6000 men.

The importance of the expedition cannot be over-rated, as, if successful and our ships are able to enter

the Sea of Azoff, one great road from Russia to the Crimea by the Isthmus of Arabat would be cut off; besides, it is expected that large supplies for the Russian army on the northern side of the sea could be taken and destroyed. All the arrangements were completed, when, yesterday, General Canrobert sent to Lord Raglan to say that upon reconsideration he thought it impossible to send away any of his troops from before Sevastopol, as, from information he had received, daily reinforcements are arriving to the Russian army in the neighbourhood of the town, and that therefore, in the event of an attack being made by them, he should require all his troops. On the receipt of this decision of General Canrobert, Lord Raglan once more urged upon him the importance of the expedition, and begged him not to give it up, or at any rate to have a Council of War to discuss the subject once more. To this General Canrobert agreed, and the Council sits this afternoon, and I have great hopes that Lord Raglan will be successful in persuading him to persevere in the expedition to Kertch. This continual want of decision on the part of the French Commander-in-Chief cannot last; he is not equal to his position. We now hear that, after all, the Emperor Napoleon is likely to come to the Crimea, and all that we can hope for is that he may shortly arrive and take command of an army, whose high military reputation will ere

long be compromised, if it remains in the hands of a man apparently so unable to make up his mind on any subject as General Canrobert.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
May 5, 1855.

At the Council of War held in the afternoon of the 1st instant, Lord Raglan managed, after much talking, to persuade General Canrobert of the great advantages to be derived by immediately taking Kertch, so that at length he gave way. It was decided that the French force under General d'Autemarre should consist of eleven battalions of infantry and two batteries of artillery; in all about 8500 men. We were to send the 42nd, 71st, and 93rd regiments, four companies of the rifle brigade, two companies of sappers and-miners, 700 royal marines, one battery of artillery, and one troop (50 horses) of light cavalry; in all about 3000 men. Three weeks' provisions for the troops were embarked, and a sufficient number of baggage-animals for the transport of stores, ammunition, and tents. The entire force was under the order of Sir George Brown. I should have mentioned that General Canrobert had been the first to propose that Sir George Brown should take command of the expedi-

tion, a very high compliment to him; and further, he had selected General d'Autemarre, as he knew he would most cordially co-operate in any undertaking with the English General. I need scarcely remark that Lord Raglan was equally desirous that the chief command of the expedition should be intrusted to a man of whom he had so high an opinion as Sir George Brown.

On the afternoon of the 3rd, everything being in readiness, the expedition sailed from Kamiesch Bay and Balaklava Harbour, and, taking a northerly direction, steered past Sevastopol. This was done in order to mislead the enemy, and, if the feint succeeded with them as well as it did in the allied camps, the Russians must have been put entirely on the wrong scent. It is needless to say that every endeavour had been made to keep the destination of the expedition secret; but, like all secrets known to several people, it had got pretty generally believed that it was to go to Kertch. In consequence, however, of this northerly movement of the fleet on its departure, it was bruited about in the camps that Odessa was to be attacked, and on the way the fleet was to pick up a large force of Turks at Eupatoria. The French actually published a memorandum to that effect! So far all went well, and we were looking forward to the laurels to be gained by the force under Sir George, and hoped at last that we

were really going to do something of importance. Our wishes, however, were not destined to be fulfilled. Shortly after 10 P.M. the same evening (not six hours after the sailing of the expedition), General Canrobert came to Lord Raglan and told him, that he must recall the French troops, as he had received a peremptory order from the Emperor to concentrate all his forces with the object of attacking the enemy in the field, and therefore he did not feel justified in allowing any troops to depart, and especially the fleet which was to transport the reinforcements from Constantinople to the Crimea. Lord Raglan used every argument he could think of to induce General Canrobert not to recall the French troops, and tried to convince him that, as the Emperor was in total ignorance, when he wrote those orders, that the expedition to Kertch was about to sail, the despatch could not refer to the present circumstances. Lord Raglan ended in convincing General Canrobert, sorely against his will, and he went away, apparently with the full intention of abiding by Lord Raglan's advice. However, two hours more had not elapsed before General Trochu, chief of General Canrobert's personal staff, arrived at the English Head-quarters, and requested an interview with Lord Raglan. He then stated to his Lordship that he had been sent by the French Commander-in-Chief to say that, on again reading over the Emperor's instructions, he

felt himself obliged to recall the French fleet and troops. Of course, such being the case, Lord Raglan had no other course to pursue but again to give in to the wishes of General Canrobert, and sat up the whole night writing despatches to Sir Edmund Lyons and Sir George Brown, informing them of the reasons for the recall of the expedition; but at the same time, I understand, he gave the latter full power to go on without the French, if he thought there was a good chance of success, and that he (Lord Raglan) would take the full responsibility.* This despatch was intrusted to Lieutenant Maxse, R.N. (Naval Aide-de-camp to Lord Raglan), who started early yesterday morning (4th) for the rendezvous where it was known the expedition was to muster previous to entering the Straits of Kertch. I can scarcely describe to you the indignation we all feel towards the French, which, though not quite just, I am sure you will admit is very natural; and you will not be surprised to hear, that Lord Raglan feels how utterly impracticable it is to carry on a joint command with a man, for whom it is impossible he can entertain that feeling of confidence so necessary to suc-

* A noble instance of generosity on the part of Lord Raglan, and at the same time a high compliment to Sir George Brown, showing the entire confidence the Commander-in-Chief had in him.

cessful co-operation. At the same time I must tell you, that Lord Raglan continues on the same friendly terms with the French Commander-in-Chief as before.

The expedition has not yet returned, but it is expected in the course of to-morrow, as we hardly suppose that Sir George Brown will think it prudent to venture on with so small a force.

And now, after having abused our allies pretty roundly, I must relate to you an affair they had the other night, that did them great credit, for the gallant manner in which it was done, and the courage displayed on the occasion. You must know that ever since the fire of the Allies has been slackened, indeed, I may almost say suspended (as we never fire except when any number of the enemy make their appearance), the Russians have been most assiduous in the construction of new rifle-pits on a larger scale than any made in the earlier part of the siege. These our allies call ambuscades, and several of them have been made during the last week in front of the Bastion du Mât and the Bastion Centrale, and have caused our allies very serious loss every day, since they have been occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters. These the French have several times attacked, but, although frequently successful in turning the enemy out, they have never been able to hold them a sufficient time, either to destroy or turn them in their own favour. The loss,

however, caused by the nightly encounters with the enemy for the possession of these pits, decided General Canrobert at length to give orders for a grand attack in force; and for this purpose a very large number of men were sent into the trenches on the left, on the evening of the 1st instant. I should also say, that what made these pits more formidable than any others that had yet been constructed, was the fact that they were connected together by a trench, and consequently were capable of giving one another support; besides, it was difficult to say where the enemy would stop, if once allowed to obtain a firm footing on ground in advance of their original works.

The French troops, which consisted of upwards of 10,000 men, were disposed into three columns, two of which were to attack the flanks, and the third the centre of the line of the enemy's ambuscades. Soon after 10 P.M. the troops advanced, and, as had been before arranged, carried the work at the point of the bayonet. This, however, was not done without considerable fighting; the Russians made every effort to hold their ground, but our allies finally overcame them and drove them back towards the town, having captured a number of prisoners, and nine small Cohorn mortars.

Directly the enemy became aware that their troops had been driven out of the work, they opened a tremendous cannonade on the French, who now occu-

pied it. This cannonade caused the French dreadful loss, but in spite of it they continued to hold the ground, turned the ambuscades in their own favour, and commenced a trench to connect them with their works. The Russians attempted no less than three times to retake the ground they had lost, but our allies, with the greatest endurance and bravery, maintained and held it until morning.

I understand that this affair cost the French 10 officers and 270 men killed and wounded. They continued to work throughout the following morning, and had got the whole line of ambuscade turned, and a good communication made with their trenches. Early in the afternoon the Russians made a sortie from the town, to endeavour, if possible, to recapture their work, and, taking the French in the first instance completely by surprise, got once more into the ambuscades, and for a moment possessed them ; but the French supports coming up, they were obliged to retire, leaving behind them many killed and wounded. The losses of our allies were very severe, for, in the first rush of the enemy, numbers were bayoneted and shot before they could offer any resistance. It is stated that they had 23 officers killed and wounded and upwards of 600 men hors de combat ; making a total of upwards of 900 casualties for the possession of these ambuscades. However, the advantage gained by our allies is considerable ;

a great blow has been struck against the enemy, and the French have advanced a portion of their siege-works over 100 yards nearer the town.

On the 3rd instant, the enemy sent in a flag of truce proposing a suspension of arms for a sufficient period to bury the dead. This of course was agreed to by General Canrobert, and accordingly on the same day flags of truce were put up, and the last rites paid to the brave men who had fallen on both sides. The Russian loss must have been very great, as the French state they gave over 150 bodies found in and about the contested work. As regards ourselves, nothing of importance has occurred connected with the siege; enormous quantities of shot, shell, and ammunition have been brought up and placed in the batteries, which have all been repaired and strengthened; besides all the 24-pounders (the majority of which are pretty well worn out by the first and second bombardments) being replaced by 32-pounders. In fact, we are ready for a third bombardment, but it is hopeless to think of any satisfactory result as long as General Canrobert is so undecided in his conduct.

I have just heard of a disaster with which our allies have met; a powder magazine in their trenches has blown up and destroyed one of their largest batteries. The loss of life is said to be great, but at present I have heard no particulars.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
May 12th. 1855.

We have had nothing but heavy rain since the last week, and consequently the ground is in nearly the same dreadful state that it was during the winter; but thanks to the railroad, the army is not in any way wanting in provisions or stores.

The expedition from Kertch returned safe on the 5th instant, the officers and men of both army and navy very much disgusted at being recalled. General Canrobert has now succeeded in making himself unpopular in both armies and both fleets. We were all in great hopes that the speedy arrival of the Emperor Napoleon would put an end to the indecision shown by General Canrobert, but we are to be disappointed here too, as we know now, without doubt, that his Majesty has given up the idea of visiting the Crimea. Yesterday an orderly officer of the Emperor's arrived, bringing, it is said, a letter to General Canrobert, giving his Imperial Majesty's opinion on what he considers the best plan of campaign for the ensuing summer, and at this moment a Council of War is sitting at Head-quarters discussing the matter. Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, and Omer Pasha (who arrived here yesterday from Eupatoria) have the Council nearly to themselves; I understand that the admirals of

both fleets and Sir George Brown were all invited to attend, but each sent an excuse! A fresh instance how unpopular General Canrobert's last *coup* has made him. Only fancy! on the evening of the 8th instant, General Canrobert received a telegraphic despatch from the Emperor, telling him to send back the expedition to Kertch, if Lord Raglan agreed to it. I hear his Lordship considers that, as the enemy must probably be aware of the intention of the expedition, by the assembly of so many ships in the neighbourhood of the Straits, they probably have taken precautions to reinforce and strengthen the defences of Kertch, and therefore it would be more prudent to send a larger force the second time than went the first. But this General Canrobert says he is not in a position to do, as during the last ten days the losses in the French army have been very great, and the extension of their siege-works requires all the available men they possess. It is therefore proposed to wait for the arrival of some of the immense reinforcements which they shortly expect from Constantinople.

The French have, for some time past, been constructing a line of eight earthen redoubts, connected together by a parapet and ditch, to cover the harbours of Kamiesch and Kazatch. It is upwards of two miles and a half in length, and extends from near the head of Streleska Bay (which is the fourth

bay east of Cape Chersonese), nearly direct south, to the cliffs about midway between the Monastery of St. George and Cape Chersonese ; it is two miles from the latter place. It is for the completion of these immense works that the French require so many men, for they employ daily two whole brigades of infantry.

I may mention to you that Omer Pasha has offered to place 14,000 of his best troops at Lord Raglan's disposal, for the purpose of forming part of a fresh expedition against Kertch, a proof of how fully Omer Pasha coincides in all Lord Raglan's plans.

On the same day (the 8th) General La Marmora, Commander-in-Chief of the Sardinian Contingent, arrived in a steam-frigate at Balaklava, and the following morning he came up to the English Headquarters, to announce his arrival and pay his respects to Lord Raglan. He has brought with him 5000 infantry, and 9000 more are now at Constantinople ready to come up to the Crimea, forming the greater portion of the force, all of which may be expected here in the course of ten days more. Those that have arrived are not landed, by Lord Raglan's particular request, as the weather is so bad that it would be most trying to fresh troops to camp out.

General La Marmora is a tall, fine-looking man with the air and bearing of one of great determination, but at the same time with most courteous manners. Lord Raglan is, I believe, most favourably

impressed with him, and feels confident that he will most ably assist him in anything he may propose.

Our cavalry force is looking up, for, independent of about 500 horses that have arrived as drafts for the different regiments in the Crimea, the whole of the 10th Hussars are now here and nearly all the 12th Lancers. We have now nearly 1800 effective horses in the cavalry division. The present state of the English army is—*effective*, 26,000 infantry, 4800 artillery, 1800 cavalry. Then we expect during this month drafts for the infantry amounting to about 6500 men, for the artillery 1500, and for the cavalry 500, so that, with the Sardinian Contingent of 15,000 men, I hope that before very long Lord Raglan will have under his immediate command between 50,000 and 60,000 effective troops. The health of the army daily improves; numbers of men every week come out of hospital and return to their duty. I am sorry to say that the cholera is reported to have broken out in Constantinople with increased virulence; we have had a few bad cases of it in the English army here the last week or ten days, but not to any great extent. The French have had it more or less the whole winter, and have lost many men from this dreadful scourge. Directly all the Sardinian troops have landed, we intend to extend our position in order to gain fresh ground to encamp the troops. It is proposed to take up as our line of defence the

Tchernaya river from the ruins of Inkermann to the village of Tchorgoun, and then from there the line will turn back to Balaklava, occupying all the high ground between the villages of Tchorgoun and Kamara. Another advantage of this movement will be that we shall gain the fresh water of the river; and although there is a very tolerable supply from the numerous springs on the plateau before Sevastopol, still, from the enormous quantity of dead animal matter which has been buried on that ground, it is possible that the water there, to a certain extent, may have become tainted. Besides this, we shall be able to clear Balaklava and its vicinity of almost all the troops now stationed there, for, if it was allowed to remain in its present crowded state, fever and disease would probably ensue.

I have not mentioned that Miss Nightingale, to whom the army is so much indebted, came up here a short time ago to see the hospitals at Balaklava and in the camps: you will be glad to hear that she was surprised to find them in so good a state after having read all the abuse of them in the English journals. She has visited also several of the French ambulances, and gives it as her opinion that in every respect the English camp hospitals were better provided than those of our allies. She is accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Bracebridge and M. Soyer: the former, kind, benevolent people, who have attended

Miss Nightingale throughout her mission of mercy ; and the latter is the celebrated *chef*, who has already been of great use to the army by making some admirable improvements and suggestions in the camp cookery.

As regards the siege there is but little to tell. For the last three nights the enemy have been endeavouring to overthrow our advanced works, and the week before they attempted the same thing. On the night of the 5th instant, they attacked our advanced parallel, right attack, and, coming on with great impetuosity, they succeeded in the first instance in penetrating into our trenches, but were shortly dislodged by some of the 30th and 49th regiments, who defended this portion of them. About the same time an officer of the 4th regiment, Captain Arnold, was taken prisoner, after being severely wounded when posting his advanced sentries in front of the left attack. I regret to say, besides losing the services of the above-mentioned officer, several men were killed and wounded in the repulse of the enemy. However their loss was apparently far more considerable than ours, as they left a number of their dead just outside our parapets. On the night of the 9th instant, they made two sorties on the right attack, but were each time met with great determination by the English troops and driven back with severe loss. On the ensuing night they made another

sortie for the same purpose, under cover of a tremendous cannonade from all their batteries, but, in spite of this, our sentries having given warning of their approach, the guard of the trenches was moved down and opened so destructive a fire upon the enemy's approaching column that they at once retired, leaving several dead behind. Last night they attempted the same thing, only on our left attack; they ascended the Woronzoff-road ravine in two columns, and came on with so much resolution and courage that the head of one column got into a portion of our advanced parallel, but were immediately driven out by the men of the 68th, who formed the guard of the trenches at this part. This was not done without some loss: an officer of the 68th, Captain Edwards, was killed, as well as 5 men of the same corps, besides a considerable number wounded.

As a proof of the loss the Russians have sustained in these attacks, I must tell you that a flag of truce was sent in by them on the 10th instant asking for a suspension of hostilities to bury the dead, which was of course allowed, and the enemy carried off 21 bodies of their comrades, who had fallen during the few previous nights. Besides these, we had buried the bodies of 12 of their men who had been killed when attempting to cross our parapets. We may consequently reckon that they have lost in the last

few attacks upon us upwards of 200 men killed and wounded.

The following is the return of casualties from the commencement of this month :—

					Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	..	..	..	..	4	4
Men	..	..	..	..	37	184
					<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	..	..	..	..	41	188
					<hr/>	<hr/>
Casualties	..	..	..	..	229	

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
May 15th, 1855.

I purpose giving you, as clearly and accurately as I can, the *proposed* movements of the allied armies during the ensuing summer. But first of all I must tell you that the English and French governments (chiefly, I believe, at the instigation of the Emperor Napoleon) have proposed this plan, which they have ordered to be carried into effect, if the Commanders-in-Chief of the allied armies think it practicable. They propose virtually to discontinue the siege, merely holding our trenches with a sufficient force to prevent the possibility of the enemy taking them, and to commence operations in the field, which, if successful, would prevent all supplies and reinforcements from reaching Sevastopol, and consequently the Russians would not be able to hold the

town, except for a limited period; or at any rate, finding their communication cut off from the interior, they would be more likely to be overcome whenever the Allies might think proper to assault the town.

The plan suggested is as follows:—that the allied forces should be divided into three distinct armies: the *first*, the army before Sevastopol to consist of 40,000 French and 20,000 Turks, with a small English force to garrison Balaklava (say 3000 men); the *second*, a force of 30,000 English, 15,000 Sardinians, and 20,000 Turks, to be an army to operate against the enemy in the field; the *third*, composed of the main body of the French army, or about 60,000 men, to be landed somewhere on the south coast, probably Alushta.*

The *first*, under General Pélissier, was to guard the trenches and our present position before Sevastopol.

The movements of the two armies in the field are to be determined according to circumstances. The *second*, under the command of Lord Raglan, was to place itself in the valley of Baidar, and thus be in communication with the *first* before Sevastopol. The *third*, under the command of General Canrobert,

* The numbers above include only infantry and artillery. The cavalry force will consist, it is hoped, of about 14,000 horses; of these 6000 French, 5000 Turks, and 3000 English and Sardinian.

was to land, if circumstances would permit, at Alushta, and after carrying the mountain pass of Ayan was to advance on Simpheropol. On the completion of this movement, which it is taken for granted would be successful, Lord Raglan's army was to assault the Mackenzie Heights; having gained which, it was either to march on Batchi-Serai with the ulterior object of making a junction with General Canrobert's army; or else it was to turn along the heights above Inkermann, and, taking in reverse the defences of the north side, complete the investment of Sevastopol. A large force of Turks was still to remain at Eupatoria to be available as might be required, and it was to be left to Omer Pasha to place himself wherever he thought his presence was most desirable. I understand the Emperor's plan was much to this effect, although there is some little difference in the numbers and disposition of the three proposed armies.

You perceive from this plan that it is always supposed that the Allies are successful in every operation, and no allowance is made for the contingency of failure and disaster. All this was fully discussed at the Council of War sitting when I wrote my last letter on the 12th instant. I have good reason to believe that Lord Raglan altogether objects to the propositions above-mentioned from first to last, as he conceives, as indeed has been his opinion for some

time past, that the town ought to be assaulted without delay ; but to this, as you are already aware, General Canrobert and the principal French generals will not agree. You will observe in the plan in question that it is proposed that the besieging army should consist of only 40,000 French and 20,000 Turks. It is much to be doubted whether this force would be able to resist any determined and sudden attack of the enemy on the rear of our position, and at the same time properly defend the allied trenches. Lord Raglan, I understand, positively refuses to give up the English siege-attacks to the Turks, as he has learned from past experience how little dependence can be placed upon our Mahometan allies, and he does not choose to risk even the possibility of English guns being again captured by the enemy, when under the protection of the Turks, and held up hereafter to the world at large as trophies from the English.* The French, with only 40,000 men, would not be able to undertake so extensive a line of works.

* It may not be unworthy of remark that it has been stated, on good authority, that the seven iron guns captured in the Turkish redoubts by the Russians at the battle of Balaklava are now to be seen in the Arsenal-yard of the Kremlin at Moscow, with an inscription in Russian to the effect that "these guns were captured in the English redoubts in front of Balaklava, October 25th, 1855," which would infer that "they were taken from the British."

Since the Council of War on the 12th instant, a very long conference was held between Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, and Omer Pasha, at which these plans, and especially the Emperor's proposals, were particularly discussed, and General Canrobert used every endeavour to persuade Lord Raglan to adopt, in conjunction with him, a plan of operations similar to that proposed, as I have narrated above. But nothing would induce Lord Raglan to give way on this point, as he felt so strongly the importance of measures being taken for the immediate capture of Sevastopol, and he considered that perhaps, after all, the greatest objection to the proposal of forming the allied forces into three great armies was, that there would be no one chief to direct the whole, and in such complicated movements as those under consideration it would be almost inviting failure for the armies to be acting under independent commanders. General Canrobert, in order to overcome this objection, with laudable self-denial, which will always be remembered to his credit, tendered to Lord Raglan the command-in-chief of the whole, as far as he (General Canrobert) was himself concerned; and further, begged Omer Pasha to do the same. Lord Raglan, I believe, hesitated to accept so great a responsibility without more consideration, and gave General Canrobert to understand that, should he accept what had been so nobly offered to him, he

should feel it his duty to require one of two things : either that, in the first place, in the event of undertaking operations against the enemy in the field, the French should occupy what are now the English trenches ; or, in the second place, should it be determined to continue the siege on its present footing, that he should desire the immediate assault and capture of the Mamelon Vert (and consequently the Ouvrages Blancs) only as a preliminary to a grand attack on Sevastopol itself after the expiration of a few days. To this General Canrobert would not give his sanction, as he stated that the daily losses now incurred by the French army engaged in the siege operations were so great that it was impossible to expect such sacrifices as would necessarily be entailed on the French troops. Thus, unfortunately, the allied Commanders-in-Chief could come to no satisfactory agreement, and that earnest and happy wish to co-operate which had animated them earlier has now received a check, the results of which are difficult to anticipate. I am given to understand that the only movement Lord Raglan advocates against the enemy in the field (besides the capture of Kertch), at the present time, would be one from Eupatoria against Batchi-Serai, which would thus cut off the communication between Sevastopol and the interior ; a corresponding movement to be made at the same time by a portion of the army before

Sevastopol against the Mackenzie Heights, and so completely isolate the Russian force on the north side and in the town. Objections were raised by the French Generals to this, on account of the scarcity of water from Eupatoria to the interior, and the difficulty of supplying a large army with that greatest necessary of life; besides which, they maintain that the Mackenzie Heights are unassailable. As regards their first objection, I see no reason why a large force should not be landed near the Alma river, and, following the neighbourhood of its course, attack the town of Batchi-Serai. As to any opposition that might be made on the part of the Russians, it would be the thing most to be desired, as of course the force landed would be of such strength as to ensure success against any numbers the enemy might bring against it, and, after one general action in favour of the Allies, the chances are its march on Batchi-Serai would be further unopposed. As to the impossibility of attacking the Mackenzie Heights, that is a matter of opinion. It is, doubtless, a position of great natural strength, but I believe it might be attacked with every probability of success, if undertaken with judgment and determination. Such are the plans and proposals that have been discussed by the allied Generals during the last few days, but, as you will observe, nothing definite has been settled.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
May 19th, 1855.

A great change has taken place this morning ; no less than that General Canrobert has resigned, and General Pélissier reigns in his stead ! I understand from an officer of the état-major that three days ago General Canrobert sent a telegraphic message to the Minister of War, begging him to lay his resignation before the Emperor on the score of ill-health, and recommending General Pélissier as his successor. It appears that the Emperor's reply, accepting the resignation of General Canrobert and the appointment of General Pélissier to the Command-in-Chief of the French army, was received last night in a telegraphic message.

Early this morning, General Pélissier came to the English Head-quarters to announce to Lord Raglan in person the change that had taken place. After breakfasting together, they remained in conference for some hours. General Pélissier informed Lord Raglan that he perfectly agreed in his views as to the proper manner of carrying on the war, which had been communicated to him by General Canrobert. He thought no time should be lost in taking immediate steps for the capture of Kertch, and also announced his intention of attacking the Ouvrages Blancs, to be directly followed, if not at the same

time, by an attack on the Mamelon Vert ; as he considers that, above all, the prosecution of the siege for the speedy reduction of Sevastopol is of the first importance. Probably several days will elapse before arrangements can be made to carry all this into effect, as General Pélissier requires a little time before he will be settled in his new command. He also informed Lord Raglan that General Canrobert, at his own request, was going to take command of the 1st division of the French army, which he had held up to the time that he succeeded Marshal St. Arnaud as General-in-Chief. General Pélissier said that by desire of the Emperor he had offered him the command of the 1st corps, but General Canrobert had refused this, and had begged to be allowed to return to his old division. It would be useless to deny that Lord Raglan is very glad of this change, as General Pélissier's known firmness and determination give him great hopes, that all that he says he will perform, will be successfully carried out. Early this afternoon, General Canrobert came to take leave of Lord Raglan on quitting his command. He was attended only by two aides-de-camp and an escort of 4 Hussars, a great contrast to the brilliant staff and numerous cortège who had before this always accompanied him. The Field-Marshal received him, if possible, with even more than his usual courtesy, as he could not but feel admiration for one

who had shown so much self-denial and forgetfulness of his own interests, when they clashed with his duty to his country; and he was particularly anxious not in any way to wound his feelings by any apparent difference in the respect he had always shown him as General-in-Chief of the French army. General Canrobert told Lord Raglan that he was extremely glad to be succeeded by General Pélissier, as he knew him to have the greatest respect for his (Lord Raglan's) judgment, and also that he agreed, even to detail, with him in his proposals for the progress of the campaign. He then thanked his Lordship for the kindness he had invariably received at his hands, and assured him that he should always remember with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction his connection with him, in spite of their differences of opinion. In taking his leave, the French General was a good deal overcome, and Lord Raglan could not but feel much touched at parting with one, with whom he has been for many months so intimately associated, and he much admires the liberal spirit which has prompted General Canrobert to tender his resignation, and the graceful manner in which it has been done.

Nothing of importance has occurred connected with the siege since my letter of the 15th instant. The firing on both sides has been almost suspended, but a perpetual discharge of small-arms goes on between

the Russian riflemen and the men in our advanced trenches.

On the 17th instant Lord Raglan went through all our trenches, accompanied by General La Marmora and a numerous staff. As usual, he visited the most advanced parallels and took General La Marmora, who was not a little astonished at his Lordship's coolness, into two of our rifle-pits. I understand Lord Raglan likes him very much, as he is a most willing, obliging man, and perfectly ready to fall in with the Field-Marshal's views. We all like what we have seen of the Sardinians. The officers are gentlemanlike men, very clean and smart in their dress, and most friendly in their manner. The soldiers are for the most part very nice-looking troops; their uniform remarkably well made, and in drill, I think, equal to the British soldiers. If their soldier-like demeanour is any criterion of what they will be in presence of the enemy, we may congratulate ourselves on having received a most valuable reinforcement. All the troops of the Sardinian Contingent that have landed, are encamped near the village of Karani, beyond the English cavalry division. Their ambulance waggons particularly attracted my attention; they are light easy carriages, I should think not half the weight of those of the English, and certainly far more comfortable, the seats being all padded, &c. They have also ambulance carriages

for the especial use of the officers, which are fitted up with great attention to comfort. Fancy the outcry the British public would make, if there were special ambulances for the officers in our army! and yet, I believe, ours is the only exception in the armies of Europe. We have for some time past been receiving large reinforcements to the Royal Artillery, and I believe before another month we shall be able to bring 96 guns into the field—the largest number that have ever been employed at one time with an English army on service.

The remainder of the 12th Lancers have arrived, so we now have two very fine fresh regiments of cavalry in the Crimea, and at last the cavalry division begins to make a formidable appearance. Our allies the French have received very large reinforcements the last few days; the whole of the division of the *Garde Impériale* have arrived; and in the course of another week they hope to have the remainder of the troops of the *Corps de Reserve* brought up from Constantinople, consisting of upwards of 25,000 men, including a large force of field artillery. I forgot to mention to you that Omer Pasha returned to Eupatoria some days ago, but is expected here again shortly.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
May 22nd, 1855.

There was a grand Council of War on the 20th instant, at which all the allied generals attended (Omer Pasha having come from Eupatoria expressly for it). It was for the purpose of arranging the expedition to Kertch. It was settled that the French should send 7500 men, and three batteries of artillery, the Turks 5000 men, and one battery of artillery, and the English 3800 men, one battery of artillery, and a troop of cavalry. General Pelissier himself proposed that Sir George Brown should take the command-in-chief of the troops, General d'Aute-marre to command the French, and Redschiid Pasha the Turks. You will perceive that the force is to consist of 16,300 men, with 30 pieces of artillery. This has been thought necessary, as it is not improbable that the Russians may by this time have heard through the spies that we had attempted an expedition the other day, and therefore they may have sent more troops into the neighbourhood of Kertch. Yesterday, last night, and to-day, the troops have been embarking, and it is intended that the expedition shall sail this evening, and they hope to be off Kertch ready to land on the morning of the 24th. It is possible that Theodosia may be attacked and a landing effected there first, as a feint to blind the

enemy, but this is only to be done if Sir George Brown considers it advisable on arriving off there, and of course it will depend upon a variety of circumstances. Meantime, whilst this expedition against Kertch is going on, I hope we shall not be idle here. It is purposed again shortly to open our fire, and, after a day or two's bombarding, the French will attack the Ouvrages Blancs and the Mamelon Vert, and the English what are called the "Quarries." This last place I have never before mentioned to you, as until quite lately it has been unimportant. It is nothing more nor less than a considerable excavation in the ground, which has apparently been made to obtain gravel. This, the Russians usually occupy in the daytime with about 250 men, but at night probably there may be twice or three times that number. They have constructed a loopholed parapet along its edge, behind which their sharpshooters keep up a perpetual fire against our trenches, and it is not possible for us to advance farther towards the Redan until this is captured, as it would take any new forward parallel in reverse. It is situated about midway between the English right attack and the Redan, the Weronzoff-road and Karabelnaia ravines being on its flanks. It is hoped that, if we are successful in our attack, we shall be able to push forward flying saps towards the Malakoff redoubt from the Mamelon, and towards the Redan from the English

right attack, and by this means be near enough to make a final rush on their two great works of defence and carry them. The town will then be at our feet, and the fall of Sevastopol inevitable. It is not anticipated that there will be any difficulty in holding the town while the Russians still possess the northern side of the harbour, though, no doubt, they would at first make the place too hot for large bodies of troops to move about during the day, or perhaps to garrison it with any considerable force. But if once in our possession I believe we could easily hold it with 5000 men against any attempt the enemy might make from the northern side. It would only be necessary to have strong guards down by the water's edge, to prevent any sudden night attack, which they might make more with the object of annoying us than with any idea of recapturing the place. I ought to apologize for being thus premature in my remarks, especially as, in the opinion of many, Sevastopol will never fall into the hands of the Allies. You may well say to me the old saw—"Do not count on your chickens before they are hatched."

Sir Edmund Lyons, being anxious, partly with a view of misleading the enemy, to make a reconnaissance along the coast as far as Yalta, ordered a steamer to be in readiness for that purpose on the morning of the 20th instant. I obtained leave to go with it, chiefly as I wished to see over again some of

the haunts I had visited previously to the war. Sir Edmund Lyons was unable to go, in consequence of the Council of War at Head-quarters, sitting for the purpose of making the arrangements for the expedition which is to sail to-night.

We started at about 9 A.M. from Kasatch Bay, in the steam despatch-boat "Telegraph," and half an hour later steamed past the harbour of Balaklava. The day was magnificent, the water smooth as glass, so that we could coast along quite close in-shore, at times within a stone's throw. You never saw anything more beautiful than the scenery from Cape Aiya to Yalta. It seemed so strange to be gazing on the scenes I had visited scarcely three years and a half ago, but under such different circumstances. I recognised all the spots F—— and I had visited in the autumn of 1851. First, the pass of Phoros, where the great south road crosses the mountain ridge, and, entering the valley of Baidar, follows its course until it reaches the village of Kamara, and so to Sevastopol. Next we passed the château of Prince Demidoff, Kastropolo by name; an ugly house enough, but beautifully situated close down to the shore. A short distance further on, we came in sight of Prince Woronzoff's magnificent residence of Alupka, the beauty of which grew upon us as we approached. So much has been heard and said of this place, that it naturally excited the

curiosity of all on board. The steamer was run as close to the land as was considered safe, that we might all get as good a view as possible of the beautiful structure and the lovely garden by which it is surrounded. Everything appeared exactly as when I had last seen it: the gardens as beautifully kept; the greatest profusion of flowers, whose fragrance we were near enough to enjoy; nothing seemed to indicate the absence of its owner, except that the window-blinds were all drawn down. You can hardly fancy a more lovely situation; a magnificent mountain range (Mount Ai Petros) rising immediately behind the palace, which is itself imbedded in a bank of wood of the richest foliage; while in front lies the garden in a series of terraces, balustraded with Carrara marble, and studded with the prettiest little Oriental fountains and statues, many of them the workmanship of Canova. Even when staying there, I do not think I was so much struck with its beauty as on this second visit. We remained gazing at the scene of peaceful grandeur before us, and were contrasting it with the din and tumult that daily surrounded us before Sevastopol, when we observed six Russian soldiers creep from behind some bushes, and almost immediately raise their muskets and fire a volley at us. However, I don't believe they were loaded, as no one heard the whistling of bullets or saw anything strike the water

after the discharge. A foolish piece of bravado on the part of the Russians, as, although we were not in a ship of war, still there were two carronades on deck, with plenty of ammunition ready in case of emergency ; so that, if we had chosen to take this as an insult, we could have been revenged without any trouble. However, we were all too accustomed to be fired at, to care about a few paltry shot, which caused a little laughter, and only made us look with greater eagerness through our glasses, to watch the movements of the worthies who thought to frighten us.

After a time we steamed on, passing General Narishkin's pretty villa, surrounded with its beautiful vineyards, the fruit of which I well remember ; and next arrived off Orianda, the palace built for the Dowager Empress by the late Emperor Nicholas. The situation of this, in its kind, is as lovely as that of Alupka ; placed in the gorge of an amphitheatre of hills, which are covered with magnificent trees, it presents more the appearance of a handsome house in an English park, such as you may occasionally see on the borders of the coast in Devonshire. Here, however, the likeness ceased, for the spoiler's hand had been at work. The ground immediately round the house was covered with the débris of furniture, the windows torn out or broken, the garden uncared for, and the whole place presenting the appearance of

recent devastation. It appears that, shortly after the arrival of the Allies before Sevastopol, a few ships of war from the allied fleets were sent down along the coast for the purpose of buying fresh provisions, or carrying off any government property they might find. Before starting, Lord Raglan ordered the English, on every occasion where they might land, to respect private property, and he also gave particular directions to the senior naval officer on no account to land at Alupka, and made the same request to General Canrobert, to which he agreed.

Yalta was the first place visited, and a few men, French and English, were landed to seize upon the small quantity of government stores the town contained. To the disappointment of all, but little trade could be done with the Tartars; they all declared, either that they had no live stock, or else that their cattle had been driven up the mountains by the Cossacks. Whether it was this that disgusted our allies I know not; but they were determined not to return without something to show; so accordingly they landed at Orianda, and in the most wanton manner pillaged the palace, which contained nothing in particular worth having, as all the valuables had been moved into the interior months before. Nevertheless they completely dismantled it, and did all they could to destroy the garden and ruin the hot-

houses, in spite of the requests and exhortations of the English officers who were present.

Next we passed Lavadia, Count Potocki's villa, with its lovely garden and rides down through the woods to the sea-shore, where I remember partaking, in company with a large party from Alupka, of a capital champagne luncheon. It also had suffered nothing by the war. From there we steamed slowly on, until off the little town of Yalta, the inhabitants of which all flocked down to the shore to look at us. There is nothing remarkable about it, except its beautiful position, backed as it is by the mountain range of Yaman Tash. It can also boast of a pretty church, built by Prince Woronzoff a few years ago. He has a small villa overlooking the town, called Marsanda, but we could see but little of it, as it is completely imbedded in wood. It was now thought time to return, as our progress had been very slow on purpose that we might see the beauties of the coast. Accordingly we steamed back, passing as near the shore as was practicable. Off Alupka, numbers of the Tartar peasants and people of the village hard by assembled near the shore, then took off their caps and gave us a cheer, to which compliment we responded. I thought I recognised an old friend I had met at Alupka when we were staying there, who was particularly civil to us. He is an Englishman named Williams, the building architect

to Prince Woronzoff, and under whose direction the palace was constructed. There he stood on the flight of steps below the Alhambra arch, with an expanse of white waistcoat, and black coat and hat, looking quite the sturdy Briton. We continued our course, and arrived back in Kasatch Bay at 8 P.M., having spent a most delightful day.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
May 26th, 1855.

The expedition to Kertch sailed on the evening of the 22nd from Kasatch Bay, and arrived off Theodosia on the morning of the 23rd, where they remained the whole day, so as to mislead the Russians into the belief that a landing was to be made there. Lord Raglan received intelligence of their safe arrival as far as this place, and also that they intended to leave that night and sail for the Straits of Kertch, and it is hoped that yesterday the landing was effected; we cannot receive intelligence until to-morrow evening.

Since my last letter, the French have had two most desperate affairs in front of their extreme left, which, although they have cost them very severe loss, were in the end perfectly successful. It seems that, ever since the affair of the 2nd of May, the Russians,

determined not to lose the benefit they always derive from having connected rifle-pits near the French trenches, have been forming very large ambuscades, ranging the entire length of the Quarantine Cemetery, and also others close to some ruined houses near the head of Quarantine Bay. These they purposed to join, but the French, knowing how equally important it was for them to prevent the enemy from accomplishing their purpose, determined on an attack in force, to capture and turn these ambuscades to their own use. It seems that near a fortnight ago, when these works of the enemy were yet in their infancy, General Pélessier, then commanding the first corps d'armée, pointed out to General Canrobert the desirability of checking their further progress; but the latter, always loth to order an attack that would cause loss of life, put it off from day to day until the acceptance of his resignation arrived, when it no longer rested with him.

General Pélessier, on succeeding to the Command-in-Chief of the French army, determined at once to attack the enemy's new works, and ordered General de Salles (the officer who had succeeded him in the command of the 1st corps d'armée) to make the necessary arrangements for so doing. Accordingly, it was settled that on the night of the 22nd, the attack should be made. It consisted of two columns of infantry, the left on the ambuscades on the top of the

Quarantine Bay, the right on the upper end of the Cemetery. The left column was composed of four battalions of infantry, and the right, of three battalions of infantry and two battalions of the Voltigeurs de la Garde: the latter were to be held in reserve. The command of the attack devolved on General Paté, who soon after 9 P.M. gave the signal to advance.

The troops rushed on with the greatest bravery and determination, and in a very short time carried the ambuscades, driving the enemy out of them. They did not, however, remain in undisputed possession many minutes; the Russians soon appeared in great force, and evidently determined not to give up the ambuscades without a further struggle. They advanced towards the French troops with great solidity and steadiness, and then charged with the bayonet; and now commenced another of the bloody struggles which this war has witnessed. Portions of the ambuscades were taken and retaken perpetually, and it was difficult to say, when both sides fought so magnificently, which was the bravest. Once, indeed, the French were for a time overpowered, and had to retreat to their trenches, but only to re-form and once more charge the enemy.

The Russians are said to have brought out no less than 15,000 or 16,000 men, and our allies had to send for large reinforcements. Two more battalions of

the Voltigeurs of the Garde, and six battalions of the line, were brought up to the support of those already in action. The fighting continued until the dawn of day, when each side, knowing that in the light they would be exposed to the fire of the antagonistic batteries, retired, leaving the ground strewed with the brave men who had fallen during the night.

The French had been unable during this sanguinary struggle to turn the works in their own favour, but nevertheless managed so far to destroy them that they could not be occupied during the ensuing day by the enemy. The conduct of the French troops on this occasion cannot be too highly extolled: the Voltigeurs of the Garde displayed the greatest bravery, and earned for themselves a name worthy to be classed with the Old Garde of Napoleon I. The French losses were, however, frightful; it is said the Voltigeurs alone had 27 officers and upwards of 600 men killed and wounded. General Pélissier determined, that as they had not been able to complete the work which had been ordered (*viz.* turning the Russian ambuscades in their own favour), that the following night another attack should be made by a fresh division of infantry, under the command of General Levaillant; and, *at their own request*, by the remainder of the Voltigeurs of the Garde, who had so distinguished themselves the night before.

The second attack was made with the same im-

petuosity as the first; our brave allies were successful everywhere; the Russians, although again in considerable force, were driven off, followed by a continuous discharge of artillery from the French batteries. The Corps du Génie set to work, and before morning had succeeded in turning the newly captured ambuscades; and, in spite of the perpetual fire the Russians poured upon them, they obtained good cover, besides connecting the ambuscades with their advanced trenches.

I understand the French losses during this night were 9 officers and 135 men killed and wounded. Yesterday morning (25th) General Ostensacken requested, through a flag of truce, a suspension of arms to bury the dead. This of course was granted, and for near five hours friend and foe were mingled together, exchanging the bodies of their fallen comrades. The French state that there were upwards of 1200 Russians dead on the ground where the action took place, and estimate the enemy's losses at from 5000 to 6000 men. This I cannot but think an exaggeration; their own loss is stated at between 1800 and 1900 casualties, of which more than a third were of the Voltigeurs of the Garde. This number includes 50 officers! The French had, during each night, about 10,000 men engaged.

The 24th inst. being her Majesty's birthday, Lord Raglan ordered a review of the cavalry division,

two troops of Horse Artillery, and the two new heavy batteries. Lord Raglan and the whole of the staff attended in full uniform; General Péliissier and Omer Pasha, followed by their brilliant staffs, were also present. General La Marmora was unable to attend. Our cavalry, mustering some 2000 horses, made a very smart turn-out, as did also the Royal Artillery present; the two new heavy batteries consisting of four 18-pounders, and four 32-pounder howitzers (all iron ordnance) attracted particular attention, being the first instance of such heavy pieces being available for field purposes. After the review, the allied generals partook of a luncheon at the English headquarters, at which General Péliissier made a speech and proposed the health of "*la Reine Victoria*." In the evening Lord Raglan gave a dinner to his generals of division and heads of departments. The English troops by his Lordship's order all received an extra ration of rum to drink the Queen's health.

You may remember I mentioned that it was in contemplation, after the arrival of the Sardinian troops, to extend our position to the Tchernaya River, &c. Accordingly, yesterday morning at 2 A.M., the divisions under Generals Canrobert and Brunet (about 14,000 men), the whole of the French cavalry (about 2000 horses), and five batteries of artillery, moved down from the heights in rear of the plateau to the plain of Balaklava. A portion of the cavalry, and a

few chasseurs crossed the Tchernaya by the Tractir Bridge, and drove off the enemy's pickets in the immediate neighbourhood. The French then encamped themselves along this side of the Tchernaya River. They were supported by two strong divisions of Turks, under command of Omer Pasha (about 16,000 men), who took up a position on the scene of the celebrated light cavalry charge, immediately in rear of the French.

The greater portion of the Sardinian troops, about 8000 men, under General La Marmora, marched from their camp at Karani across the plain of Balaklava, and camped themselves on the most advantageous ground from the village of Kamara to that of Tchorgoun. They were assisted in this by Sir Colin Campbell, who caused the Royal Marines on the eastern heights of Balaklava to move on to the next ridge of hills, and thus overlooked the village of Kamara and a portion of the valley of Baidar; while two regiments of cavalry (10th Hussars and 12th Lancers), under command of Colonel Parlby, went in advance of the Sardinian troops, reconnoitred the country, and patrolled the Woronzoff Road for a considerable distance in the direction of Baidar.

The Russian troops at Tchorgoun and in the neighbourhood made no resistance, but quietly withdrew before our skirmishers. The French cavalry

took a Russian picket near Tractir Bridge by surprise, and made some 15 men prisoners. You will see by the map that we have gained a large quantity of ground, besides the immense advantage of having the fresh water of the Tchernaya, and yet this important movement was made without the least opposition on the part of the enemy.

Soon after General Canrobert had taken up his new position by the Tchernaya river, Lord Raglan paid him a visit there. They rode all about the ground, and conversed together for two or three hours. General Canrobert was much pleased at his lordship's attention ; and when taking leave of him, said, with a voice full of emotion, " Ah ! milord, you are very good to me, for you visit me in adversity, and treat me in the same manner as when I was in prosperity ; that is not the case with most men."

Head quarters before Sevastopol,
May 29th, 1855.

I have no time to write to-day, as I shall be occupied on duty until the post goes. You will see in the public journals all the information I can give you about the Kertch expedition. Nothing could have been more successful : Sir George Brown's arrangements seem to have been admirable in every parti-

cular; as well indeed as those of the authorities generally, both military and naval. It is now proposed to send nearly the same force, with some siege-guns, to attack Anapa. We can only hope that this new expedition will be as successful as the last. Nothing of any importance has taken place here since I wrote on the 26th.

[NOTE.—The author, not having been present during any portion of the Kertch expedition, does not pretend to be able to afford more information than what is already known to the public; but, as the reader may possibly wish for the principal facts, he gives extracts and remarks from the despatches of the different military and naval authorities engaged in the expedition.]

Extracts from Sir George Brown's Despatch to Lord Raglan, dated "Yenikale, May 25th, 1855."

. "On leaving the anchorage off Sevastopol on the 22nd the night became so foggy that the fleet made but little progress towards its destination, but the whole of the ships and steamers reached the rendezvous, four leagues off Cape Takli, soon after daylight on the morning of the 24th, when it was speedily determined to run at once in for the spot at which, as your Lordship is aware, it was originally proposed to disembark, and which is a fine, smooth bay, round

a low point running out immediately under the village of Kamiesch-Bournow.

..... "All the vessels got as high up as the depth of water would permit, and came to an anchor about eleven, when the English and French troops began to get into the boats, and small steamers, which were assigned to them, towed them to the shore, and the gunboats and smaller war steamers were stationed to scour the beach and protect the disembarkation.

"Although we had observed some seven or eight pieces of light artillery following us along the shore, no opposition was made to the disembarkation, and the first of the troops reached the shore at ten o'clock, which, as soon as they were formed, were pushed on to occupy the village on the rising ground bordering the marshy plain on which they landed, for the purpose of covering the remainder of the disembarkation. As they were the most numerous, and as your Lordship had done so on a former occasion, I placed the French on the right and the British troops on the left, intending to hold the Turkish Contingent in reserve.

"Soon after the disembarkation had commenced several loud explosions were heard, and it was soon discovered that the enemy had blown up the magazines of all his batteries on Cape St. Paul, and was retiring by the road leading to Theodosia, or Kaffa. It therefore became exceedingly desirable that I should advance to occupy the ridge of which the Cape is the continuation; but, as only a few of the Turkish troops had got landed, and but little of the artillery, I contented myself by requesting General D'Autemarre to patrol to the Cape and towards

Kertch, and took up the best position I could find for the security of the troops and the protection of the disembarkation of all the necessary *matériel* and horses during the night, just before dark—which, in an open steppe, where we were exposed to the attacks of cavalry, was an operation of some difficulty.

“In the course of the evening several more loud explosions were heard, and it was soon discovered that he had also blown up and abandoned the whole of his works here and along the coast between this and Kertch, and spiked all the guns. He had also set fire to and destroyed some large corn magazines in Kertch, as well as two steamers in the harbour; and the Cossacks, as usual, burnt all the forage and farm-houses in their way.

. “The disembarkation of horses, guns, and *matériel* went on during the whole night. The whole force marched off their ground at six this morning,—the French in contiguous columns, followed by their artillery; the British in echelons of columns, covering their flank, and their own artillery and baggage; and the Turkish troops in contiguous columns of battalions, covering the rear of the whole, until they approached the precincts of Kertch, when the whole of the troops broke into an ordinary column of route. The town of Kertch is clean, and remarkably well built, and the troops passed through it with the greatest regularity, and without the slightest disorder; subsequently the day became excessively hot, and, the march being a long one, the men suffered greatly from fatigue and want of water, which was only to be found at occasional wells. We managed to get in here, however, by one o’clock,

where we were soon after visited by the three Admirals, and found a large squadron of small steamers and gunboats, ready to proceed into the Sea of Azoff, under the command of Captain Lyons, of the 'Miranda.'

"The result of these operations, besides the opening of the passage into that sea and the destruction of the enemy's works, has been the capture of upwards of fifty of his guns, many of them of the largest calibre and the best construction. I omitted to state that in passing through Kertch this morning, observing that an iron foundry there had been employed in the manufacture of shot and shells, as well as in casting Minié bullets, I caused it to be destroyed, with all its new and expensive machinery."

From General d'Autemarre's Despatch of the same date.

. "My camp is in a good position; the approaches are defended nearly on all sides by natural obstacles difficult to be overcome; I purpose strengthening them still more.

"To establish order in some degree in the town, I have appointed a commandant, who has commenced his duties already for two or three days. An inventory has been made of the materials left intact by the enemy, and I have appointed a special commission of officers to report upon what may be serviceable for the different branches of the service.

"Among the establishments we have been able to preserve is the military hospital. It is capable of containing from 100 to 150 sick. This hospital consisted of three buildings connected with each other; two of them were destroyed either by fire or by the

explosion of the batteries. These buildings could easily have contained 350 or 400 sick.

"We found in the hospital 30 Russians, nearly all of them wounded at Sevastopol. In the neighbouring villages a great number had been billeted upon the inhabitants, and were visited by the army surgeons. One of these surgeons, a Saxon by birth, repaired to my head-quarters on the very evening of my arrival. He is employed, under the direction of the chief of the ambulances, to attend to the Russian wounded in our hands.

"This officer has assured me that General Wrangel has recently received orders from Prince Gortschakoff to prepare places for 10,000 to 15,000 wounded. . .

. . . . The number of troops trusted with the defence of the peninsula may be estimated at 6000 men. General Wrangel, who commanded them, had repeatedly asked for reinforcements. A letter from Prince Gortschakoff which has fallen into our hands informs the General that not only will he not receive the reinforcements demanded, but that he must send in all his cavalry to Sevastopol."

From a Despatch from Sir Edmund Lyons, commanding her Majesty's fleet, dated "Royal Albert, Straits of Kertch, May 26th, 1855."

"The allied forces are masters of the Straits of Kertch, and they have in the Sea of Azoff a powerful steam flotilla, of light draught of water, capable of cutting off the enemy's supplies and harassing him at all points; and, moreover, the means are at hand for sending in a vast number of gunboats of the lighter draught, if it should be found desirable to do so The fleet, which consisted of her Ma-

jesty's ships named in the margin,* and a French fleet of nearly equal force, under the command of my gallant and energetic colleague, Vice-Admiral Bruat, assembled off the Straits of Kertch at early dawn on the birth-day of her most gracious Majesty the Queen, and both armies and navies confidently anticipated a successful celebration of that auspicious day. The fleets steamed rapidly up to Kamiesch, where the army landed under cover of the guns of the steam-frigates, and immediately ascended the heights without opposition, while the steamers of light draught of water pushed on towards Kertch and Yenikale; and the enemy, apparently taken by surprise at the rapidity of these movements, and at the imposing appearance of the expedition, blew up his fortifications on both sides of the straits, mounting not less than 50 guns (new and of heavy calibre), which have fallen into our possession, and retired after having destroyed 3 steamers and several other heavily-armed vessels, as well as large quantities of provisions, ammunition, and stores, thus leaving us masters of the entrance into the Sea of Azoff, without having sustained any loss whatever. An incident during the day called forth the admiration of both fleets, and which deserves to be particularly noticed. Lieutenant M'Killop, whose gun-vessel, the 'Snake,' was not employed like the others in land-

* Royal Albert, Hannibal, Algiers, Agamemnon, St. Jean d'Acre, Princess Royal, Sidon, Valorous, Leopard, Tribune, Simoom, Furious, Highflyer, Terrible, Miranda, Sphinx, Spitfire, Gladiator, Vesuvius, Curlew, Swallow, Caradoc, Stromboli, Ardent, Medina, Wrangler, Viper, Lynx, Recruit, Arrow, Banshee, Snake, Beagle.

ing troops, dashed past the forts after an enemy's steamer; and, although he soon found himself engaged, not only with her, but also with two others who came to her support, he persevered, and by the cleverness and extreme rapidity of his manœuvres, prevented the escape of all three, and they were consequently destroyed by the enemy, and the 'Snake' had not a man hurt, though shot passed through the vessel.

"Yesterday Admiral Bruat and I accompanied the combined steam flotilla . . . into the Sea of Azoff, and despatched them, under the orders of Captain Lyons, of the 'Miranda,' on the interesting and important service they have before them.

"Had this expedition been deferred but a short time longer, there would have been many and great difficulties to overcome, for the enemy was actively employed in strengthening the sea-defences, and in replacing the sunken vessels which had been carried away by the current during the winter months.

"Of the 40 vessels sunk last year some still remain, and a French steamer touched upon one of them yesterday. It appears that the enemy did not succeed in destroying the coals, either at Kertch or Yenikale, so that about 17,000 tons remain, which will be available for our steamers."

From a Despatch of Admiral Bruat, commanding the French Squadron in the Black Sea, dated "On board the Montebello, before Kertch, May 26th, 1855."

..... "On the 25th Admiral Lyons and myself entered the Sea of Azoff, whence we sent a squadron to Berdiansk and Arabat. It left during the night,

and consisted of four French steamers, and ten English steamers, some of which are gunboats.

..... "To sum up, the enemy has lost, up to the present,—

"160,000 sacks of oats.

"360,000 sacks of corn.

"100,000 sacks of flour.

"A carriage factory and a foundry were burnt down; three steamers, one of which was a war steamer, were sunk by the Russians themselves. Some thirty transport ships were destroyed, and at least as many taken. In the different explosions about 100,000 kilogrammes of powder were destroyed. A great store of shells and cannon-balls no longer exists."

*Extract from a Despatch of Captain Lyons, R.N., dated
"H.M.S. Miranda, off Arabat, Sea of Azoff, May 28th
1855."*

"On the afternoon of the 25th, I proceeded with the steam-vessels under my orders named in the margin,* and the French steamer 'Lucifer,' towards Berdiansk; at dark we stopped for the French steamers 'Megère,' 'Brandon,' and 'Fulton.' These having joined, at 3 A.M. on the 26th, we all went on in company. At 3.30 P.M. on that day we anchored off the lighthouse on the spit at Berdiansk, in such a position as to command the harbour and beach and a large number of merchant-vessels. I then sent the boats of the squadrons under Commander

* Vesuvius, Curlew, Swallow, Stromboli, Medina, Wrangler, Viper, Lynx, Recruit, Arrow, Snake, Beagle.

Sherard Osborn, accompanied by the boats of the French ships, to destroy these vessels, as well as some lying about four miles off, and a storehouse. All this was completed by dark. During this time steamers of the two squadrons were chasing and destroying vessels in other directions.

"At daylight of the 27th I weighed with the ships under my orders, accompanied by the four French steamers, and anchored off the town of Berdiansk, the 'Miranda' in 15 feet, and the gunboats in proportionally less water, in a position which effectually commanded the town and beach. Here we found, run on shore, and burnt to the water's edge and abandoned, the four steamers of war which had escaped from Kertch, under the command of Rear-Admiral Wolff, whose flag was flying in the 'Moloditz.' I now landed the small-armed men and marines of the squadron, under Commander Lambert of the 'Curlew,' accompanied by those of the French ships, with orders to destroy all shipping and Government stores, but to respect private property. This was done without molestation, although we had information that 800 Cossacks, with guns, were at Petroskoi, five miles off. Many vessels were destroyed, and corn stores to the estimated value of 50,000*l*. An 8-inch 62-cwt. gun was also recovered from the wreck of one of the Russian steamers, and is now on board the 'Miranda.'

"Immediately the boats returned, the squadrons weighed for Arabat; I at the same time detached the 'Swallow' and 'Wrangler' to Genitchi, to command the entrance to the Putrid Sea, and the 'Curlew' to cruise between Krivaia Spit and Sand Island, and thus prevent vessels escaping us by getting up the Don.

"On the morning of the 28th we arrived off Arabat, and engaged the fort (mounting thirty guns) for an hour and a half, at the end of which time a shell blew up the enemy's magazine; the ships having been ordered to keep at shell range, and being well handled, had only one casualty, the chief engineer of the 'Medina' being slightly wounded by a splinter; the French senior officer's ship received two shots in the hull, but fortunately no one was hurt. The enemy must have lost many men from the precision with which the shells burst in his works, independently of that caused by the explosion..

..... "The allied squadrons have destroyed upwards of 100 vessels during the three days they have been in the sea, principally laden with provisions for the Russian army in the Crimea; had we sent these vessels in as prizes, we should have lost much valuable time and not been able to effect so many captures."

From the same, dated "H.M.S. Miranda, off the town of Genitchi, May 29th, 1855."

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that I arrived here shortly after dark last night, with her Majesty's ships under my orders, and joined the 'Swallow' and 'Wrangler,' which ships had already destroyed or captured all the vessels in this neighbourhood outside the Straits of Genitchi; but a very great number had passed the Straits, which are only fifty yards wide, and are commanded by the low cliffs on which the town is built, and were moored inside under the cliff.

"At six o'clock this morning I sent Commander Crauford with a flag of truce to demand the immediate

surrender of all these vessels, and of the immense corn stores for the supply of the army in the Crimea, and of all Government property of every description, stating that if these terms were complied with I would spare the town and respect private property, but that if not, the inhabitants were immediately to leave the town.

"Commander Crauford was met by an officer of apparently high rank, who refused to accede to these terms, saying that any attempt to land or to destroy the vessels would be resisted.

"The enemy at this time had six field-pieces in position, and about 200 men with them, and, visible from the mast-head, drawn up behind the town, a battalion of infantry, besides Cossacks.

"Having allowed till 9 A.M. for the reconsideration of the refusal to deliver up the vessels and stores, and receiving no answer, I at that time hauled down the flag of truce, and placed the steamers as near to the town and the passage into the Putrid Sea as the depth of the water would allow, but they were only able to approach within long range. Seeing that if the enemy, who had removed his guns from their former position, could place them in the town so as to command the passage, and that if he could place his infantry in a similar manner, it would be impossible for the boats to pass the channel and destroy the vessels and stores, I directed the ships to shell the town, which they did so effectually that the boats under the command of Lieutenant J. F. C. Mackenzie got safely through the passage, and set fire to the shipping (73 in number) and the corn stores. This service was ably performed by Lieutenant Mackenzie, and the boats returned without accident.

“The wind having shifted about two hours after the boats came off, some of the corn-stores did not catch fire; conceiving the destruction of this corn, as well as of some more distant vessels in so favourable a position for supplying the Russian armies in the Crimea, to be of the utmost importance, I sent the boats again, commanded and officered as before, although I was aware that, from the enemy having had time to make preparations, it would be a hazardous enterprise.

“The ships accordingly resumed their fire upon the town, and the boats proceeded. Lieutenant Cecil W. Buckley, of this ship; Lieutenant Hugh T. Burgoyne, of the ‘Swallow’; and Mr. John Roberts, gunner of the ‘Ardent,’ volunteered to land alone and fire the stores; this offer I accepted, knowing the imminent risk there would be in landing a party in presence of such a superior force, and out of gunshot of the ships. This very dangerous service they most gallantly performed, narrowly escaping the Cossacks, who all but cut them off from their boat; at the same time Lieutenant Mackenzie pushed on and burnt the remaining vessels, the enemy opening a fire from four field-guns and musketry placed almost within point-blank range of the boats. Everything being now effectually accomplished, the boats returned. Although several of them were struck by grape and case shot, most fortunately only one man was slightly wounded. Lieutenant Mackenzie speaks in high terms of the coolness and excellent behaviour of all employed under his orders; and I trust that I may be allowed to bring to your notice the conspicuous merit of Lieutenant Mackenzie himself on this occasion, when more than 90 vessels and also corn

the Russian army of the value of 100,000*l.* were destroyed, owing to his gallantry and ability, with so trifling a loss as one man slightly wounded.

" Since the squadron entered the Sea of Azoff, four days ago, the enemy has lost 4 steamers of war, 246 merchant vessels, also corn and flour magazines to the value of at least 150,000*l.*

" I have, &c.,

" E. M. LYONS, Captain."

From a Despatch from Sir Edmund Lyons, dated " Royal Albert, Straits, June 2nd, 1855."

" It appears that more than 100 guns have fallen into our hands in the different sea defences, many of them of heavy calibre, and remarkably well cast. Those which may not be required for the land defences which the allied armies are now constructing will be shipped and sent to England and France.

" It has been ascertained from the Custom-house returns that the enemy on evacuating Kertch, on the 24th ult., destroyed 4,166,000 lbs. of corn and 508,000 lbs. of flour. This quantity, taken together with what has been destroyed by the allied squadrons in the Sea of Azoff, comprises nearly four months' rations for an army of 100,000 men; and it seems that shortly before our arrival the enemy had commenced sending towards Sevastopol daily convoys of about 1500 waggons, each containing half-a-ton weight of grain or flour.

" Sir George Brown confidently expects that by the 7th instant Yenikale will be in such a state of

defence as fully to justify his leaving it in charge of the Ottoman troops."

[*The following Despatches speak for themselves, and are remarkable for the clear manner in which they are expressed*]:—

"H.M.S. Miranda, Taganrog Roads,
June 3rd, 1855.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that I anchored in 18 feet water with the squadron under my orders in Taganrog inner roads, at about eight and a-half miles from the town, on the evening of the 1st instant, without any accident, although the enemy had removed the light vessels and beacons. During the night an easterly wind sprang up, and the water fell 3 feet, with every appearance of still falling; we were therefore obliged to remove a mile and a-half further from the town.

"2. The 2nd was employed in reconnoitring the town, which I was enabled to do satisfactorily in the 'Recruit,' Lieutenant Day, commanding that vessel, having found a passage during the night.

"I had arranged to proceed at 3 A.M. the following morning to summon the town, and, in the event of a refusal to surrender, to endeavour to destroy the immense stores of grain and other Government property in that place.

"3. Matters were in this state, when at sunset, to my great satisfaction, the 'Sulina,' 'Danube,' and 'Medina,' with the twelve armed launches of the line-of-battle-ships, hove in sight; this most welcome and opportune reinforcement of exactly the description of force required for the purpose in view rendered

success certain, and not long after the French steamers, with launches in tow, arrived.

"4. Having concerted measures with M. de Sedaiges, commanding the French steamers, I proceeded at 3 A.M. in the 'Recruit,' with the vessels and boats, and accompanied by the lightest French steamers (M. de Sedaiges being on board one of them), towing their launches. Having anchored the 'Recruit' at 1400 yards from the mole-head, and collected all the boats astern, I sent Lieutenant Commander Horton, with a flag of truce, accompanied by a French officer with similar orders from M. de Sedaiges, to demand the surrender of all Government property of every description whatsoever, and of all grain, flour, and provisions (which I considered as contraband of war, knowing that, even in the event of its not being Government property, it could only be intended for the supply of the Russian army in the Crimea), the whole to be delivered over to us to destroy; the troops to remove, during this necessary destruction, to a place 5 miles from the town, and within sight of the ships; the inhabitants to withdraw, except those appointed by the authorities to open the stores and assist us; any approach of troops, or any infraction of these terms, if accepted, to be considered as cancelling them, and to be punished with instant bombardment; one hour to be allowed for a decision, and no modification of the terms to be entertained. At the expiration of the hour Lieutenant Horton and the French officer were informed that the Governor refused the terms; and that, having troops at his disposal, he intended to defend the place. On this these officers came off, and the flag of truce was hauled down from the 'Recruit.'

“ 5. Shortly afterwards the ‘Recruit’ commenced firing, and the boats proceeded under the command of Commander Cowper P. Coles, of the ‘Stromboli,’ in tow of one another, and accompanied by the French boats, until, having arrived in the required position, the tow was cast off, the boats’ heads pulled round to the beach, and so heavy a fire opened that, although the enemy made repeated attempts to get down to the houses lining the beach, so as to save the long range of storehouses from destruction, they never succeeded in doing so in sufficient numbers. Lieutenant Mackenzie (the senior lieutenant of this ship) had charge of a separate division of light boats, with rockets and one gun, to cover the approach of Lieutenant Cecil Buckley, of the ‘Miranda,’ who, in a four-oared gig, accompanied by Mr. Henry Cooper, boat-swain, third class, and manned by volunteers, repeatedly landed and fired the different stores and Government buildings; this dangerous, not to say, desperate service, when carried out in a town containing upwards of 3000 troops, constantly endeavouring to prevent it, and only checked by the fire of the boats’ guns, was most effectually performed. The ‘Recruit,’ from her light draught of water, was enabled to take an effective position at 1400 yards, and so was the ‘Mouette,’ French steamer; and the ‘Danube,’ with 24-pounder howitzer and rockets, was very useful.

“ 6. By three P.M. all the long ranges of stores of grain, plank, and tar, and the vessels on the stocks, were in a blaze, as well as the Custom-house and other Government buildings, and unfortunately, but unavoidably, the town in many places; and, our purpose being amply effected, the boats returned to the

'Recruit.' The loss of the enemy in men must have been severe, as many were seen to fall. They deserve credit for the obstinacy with which they endeavoured to gain positions to prevent our effecting the object we had in view, but it was impossible to face the continuous and well-directed fire kept up. Their loss in grain of different descriptions, I cannot estimate, but, as it comprises all, or very nearly all, in store at Taganrog, it must be enormous.

" 7. The only casualty in carrying out this service was one private of the Royal Marine Artillery severely wounded in the face by a musket-ball.

" 8. I must now beg to be allowed to bring to your notice the very meritorious conduct of Commander Coles on this occasion, in command of so large a force of boats; and I cannot speak too highly of his energy, decision, and ability, which left me nothing to desire. He speaks in the highest terms of all under his orders, and particularly of Lieutenant J. T. C. Mackenzie, in charge of a separate division, who behaved with his accustomed spirit and judgment; and of Lieutenant Buckley, who so well carried out the hazardous service he had volunteered for. All the officers and men employed conducted themselves to my entire satisfaction; but, as those above-mentioned were in such conspicuous situations, I trust I may be pardoned for submitting their names to your favourable consideration.

" 9. I cannot refrain from bearing my testimony to the admirable conduct and cordial co-operation of our allies, under the personal direction of M. de Se-daiges, the boats being under the immediate command of M. Lejeune, Capitaine de Frégate, and First Aide-de-Camp to Admiral Bruat.

" 10. A Russian sergeant, who deserted and gave himself up to a French boat, states the number of troops in the town to have been 3200, of which 800 arrived last night.

" 11. A Russian war schooner, which had been run on shore near the town and abandoned, was set fire to and burnt, and so was a large raft of timber. The wreck of a large vessel (a sort of guardship), which we observed to be fired by the enemy, and blown up on our first appearance in Taganrog Roads, was visited, but was found to be already effectually destroyed.

" Many large buildings had the black flag hoisted, as a sign, I presume, of their being hospitals; these were most carefully respected by us, as were the churches, and, as far as possible, private houses.

" I have, &c.,

" E. M. LYONS, Captain.

" Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B."

" H.M.S. Miranda, Marioupol, June 5.

" Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that having anchored yesterday evening off this place with the ships under my orders and six French steamers, I sent Lieutenant-Commander Horton, of the 'Ardent,' accompanied by a French officer with similar orders, at daylight this morning, to demand the surrender of the place, on exactly the same terms as those offered by us at Taganrog; and I desired him to express to the authorities the earnest hope of myself and of the French senior officer that they would not oblige us to resort to measures which would endanger the whole town, as our object was to destroy all contraband of war, but to respect private property.

" 2. At the expiration of the delay granted, no authorised person appearing, I sent the line-of-battle ships' launches (lent to the squadron) and the boats of the ships under my orders, with all the marines under Lieutenant Macnamara, R.M.A., the whole commanded by Lieutenant J. F. C. Mackenzie, of this ship, to effect our object by force, the French boats accompanying ours.

" 3. On the marines and a body of French small-arm men landing, under cover of the launches' guns, 600 Cossacks, commanded by a colonel, evacuated the town, and the marines and the French small-arm men advanced and took possession of it; the very extensive stores of grain were fired and destroyed by parties under the directions of Captain Lejeune, of the French navy, and of Lieutenant Swinburne of this ship, every care being taken to cause as little damage to the town as possible.

" 4. Thus was a considerable town on the military high road from the provinces of the Don to the Crimea (the only one left since our occupation of this sea), held unmolested possession of by a small body of British marines and French small-arm men for five hours, while immense stores of grain were destroyed.

" 5. The grain, plank, and other stores considered as contraband of war being effectually destroyed, the whole party re-embarked without the slightest accident.

" 6. Lieutenant Mackenzie conducted this service with excellent judgment; and he speaks in high terms of the judicious manner in which First-Lieutenant Macnamara, Royal Marine Artillery, posted the Royal Marines and Royal Marine Artillery under

his orders, in presence of a superior force, who were thus deterred from venturing to molest them.

“ I have, &c.,

“ E. M. LYONS, Captain.

“ Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.”

“ H.M.S. *Miranda*, off the town of Gheisk, June 6.

“ Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that, on my arrival here this morning with the vessels under my orders, and the launches of the line-of-battle ships, accompanied by four French steamers, I sent Lieutenant-Commander Horton, of the ‘*Ardent*,’ with whom was associated a French officer, to demand the surrender of the place on the same terms as those offered by us at Taganrog and Marioupol. These terms having been wisely acceded to by Colonel Boriskoff, the Military Governor, whose small force was quite inadequate to defend the town, the marines of this ship, under First-Lieutenant Macnamara, R.M.A., and a French party, landed and destroyed a vast quantity of hay, stacked on the beach ready for conveyance to the Crimea, and several thousand quarters of wheat, &c. During this time Lieutenant Horton and the French officer went through the town, and had all the storehouses and magazines thrown open for inspection, in order to see that no evasion of the terms was attempted, and that all contraband of war was destroyed.

“ On this, as well as on the two former similar occasions, Lieutenant Horton conducted the interview with much judgment and firmness.

“ I have, &c.,

“ E. M. LYONS, Captain.

“ Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.”

Extract from a Despatch of Admiral Houston Stewart to Sir Edmund Lyons, dated "Hannibal, at Anapa, June 11th, 1855."

"I arrived at this anchorage at 10 A.M. to-day; Rear-Admiral Charner did not arrive till about 1 P.M., Admiral Bruat having last night informed me that he would be detained, and requested me not to wait for the 'Napoleon.'

"The Russians have exploded nearly all the powder magazines in the place, and those which remain are empty.

"The barracks were burnt by the Russians, as also a good number of buildings, and all the coal and grain, which appear to have been in considerable quantities.

"The garrison is estimated by the Circassians at between 7000 and 8000, and they are retired on the Kuban River, which they crossed by a bridge, destroying the latter behind them."

[In this despatch was also enclosed a return of the ordnance material which had been destroyed at Anapa, including 245 guns and mortars, 4 magazines, and 8 furnaces for heating shot. By far the greater portion of these were rendered useless by the Russians themselves, and the remainder were made unserviceable by order of Admiral Houston Stewart.]

CHAPTER XVI.

Moonlight nights — Cholera — Death of Admiral Boxer — Council of war at the French head-quarters — General Péliissier snubs all round — His deference to Lord Raglan's opinion — French reconnaissance — Opening of the third bombardment, June 6th — Arrangements of the Allies for the assault of the Mamelon, Ouvrages Blancs, and Quarries — Enthusiastic reception of Lord Raglan by the troops — Ditto of General Péliissier — Assault and capture of the Mamelon by the French, June 7th — The Ouvrages Blancs also fall after some desperate fighting — English take the Quarries at the point of the bayonet — Foolish attempt of the Zouaves on the Malakoff — They are repulsed — The Russians repossess themselves of the Mamelon, but are driven out again by the French — Enemy attack the Quarries and are defeated with great loss — Death of General Lavarande — Suspension of arms — General Todtleben — General Péliissier uses his discretion — Casualties of the Allies — Russian losses — Evacuation of Anapa — Annoyance of Omer Pasha — Cholera in the Sardinian army — Casualties.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
June 5th, 1855.

As regards the progress of the siege here, we are supposed to be waiting for darker nights, as at present the moon shines all through the night with such brightness, that it is quite impossible for the men to work in the advanced trenches. As an instance of how light it is in this climate at night, I may mention to you that the last mail from England

arrived very late in the evening at Head-quarters. I got my letters between 10 and 11 P.M., and read them by moonlight! This, in England, you would hardly think credible. However, in two or three days more this will no longer be the case, and we then hope that we shall be able to push our batteries very much more forward.

The weather continues magnificent, but I regret to say that the cholera, if anything, has rather increased than diminished. Every day we hear of men cut off in the prime of life by this dreadful disease, and almost without a moment's warning. The regiments that have lately arrived are those that suffer most. The 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers have both lost a number of men, as also have several infantry regiments, who have only been a short time here. Our Sardinian allies have, I am sorry to say, suffered considerably. I believe they have lost, up to the present time, about 200 men dead, and have near 400 in hospital with diarrhoea and dysentery. Everything has been done that the medical men can think of to try and check the malady, but nothing seems to be of any use. They are camped on fresh, healthy ground, with plenty of excellent water, plenty of firewood, good wholesome rations, including fresh meat and bread, and with but little duty to perform; in short, the treatment of cholera is an enigma; of which our medical men have not yet discovered

the solution. Admiral Boxer (the Port-Admiral of Balaklava) died of it last night. Poor man! he felt very much the abuse that has been heaped upon him by the English newspapers, and that made him very restless, and, no doubt, to a certain extent, accelerated his death; for when he first felt ill, four or five days ago, he would not take proper care of himself or lie up, as the medical men advised him; as he said, if he did, he should have the papers abusing him again. He was one of the last remnant of the old school of sailors, and rose to his high rank from before the mast; probably the last instance known in the British navy.

I enclose you the General After-Order of yesterday, describing the success which has attended the Kertch expedition.*

* "*General After-Order, 4th June, 1855.*—The Field-Marshal announces to the army the further gallant exploits of the Allies (with the Kertch expedition), which this time have chiefly been accomplished by the ships of the French and English navies. Berdiansk has been destroyed, with four war-steamers. Arabat, a fortress mounting 30 guns, after resisting an hour and a half, had its magazine blown up by the fire of our ships. Genit-Cheek refused to capitulate, and was set fire to by shells. Ninety ships in its harbour were destroyed, with corn and stores to the amount of 100,000*l*.

"In these operations, the loss to the enemy during four days has amounted to 4 war-steamers, 246 merchant-vessels, and corn and magazines to the amount of 150,000*l*. Upwards of 100 guns have been taken.

"It

At the commencement of the month it was agreed between the Commanders-in-Chief of the English and French armies that immediate steps should be taken for the capture of the Ouvrages Blancs and Mamelon Vert by the French, and the Quarries by the English. They each, therefore, gave directions to their respective generals of engineers to prepare notes of their proposals to carry this object into effect; these notes were exchanged, and comments made upon them by the said generals. General Niel was much opposed to an attack being made against the works above mentioned for the present, as he considered it too hazardous; and proposed that first of all a movement should be executed against the enemy on the Mackenzie Heights for the purpose of making a diversion: that would draw troops from the north side, and consequently limit the reinforcements that would be available to be sent into the town. On the other hand, General Jones thought that the time had arrived for the assault of the works; he so far agreed with General Niel that it would be judicious

"It is estimated that four months' rations for 100,000 men of the Russian army have been destroyed.

"On the Circassian coast, the enemy evacuated Soujak-Kaleh on the 28th May, after destroying all the principal buildings and 60 guns and 6 mortars.

"The fort on the road between Soujak-Kaleh and Anapa is also evacuated."

to make a movement against the Mackenzie Heights as a diversion, but wished it to be simultaneous with the attack on the Mamelon, &c. It was to discuss these propositions that a Council of War was held at the French Head-quarters, consisting of the principal officers of engineers and artillery of the English and French armies. General Péliissier was also present, and made a speech to the officers previously to the Council, in which he stated that he was aware that those whom he then addressed would be very diligent in devising various schemes for the reduction of Sevastopol, but he begged to inform them, that on the 7th instant the Mamelon Vert, the Ouvrages Blancs, and the Quarries must be taken, adding, "Lord Raglan and I have decided it;"—and he therefore wished to impress upon them, that they were there only for the purpose of arranging and settling the best means of carrying this decision into execution. I understand that here General Bosquet took upon himself to dissent altogether from the views of the Commander-in-Chief, but was immediately stopped by General Péliissier, who begged to remind him of what he had just said—that the attack was *decided* upon. General Bosquet made no further remark.* General Niel then got up, having in

* It may be as well to state, for the information of the reader, that three of the highest generals on the French staff were

his hand a long written statement, which he proceeded to read as follows: "In operations of this kind it is necessary to commence at the beginning. Now to commence with the left." General Péliissier here interrupted him, and pointing to the map said, "We will suppose the left side not to exist; we will speak as if there was no left. I know you are all gentlemen of genius and science, and could give me good advice if I asked it. But I do not want it. The entire responsibility belongs to Lord Raglan and to me. I have announced to you our determination: the Mamelon Vert, the Ouvrages Blancs, and the Quarries are to be taken on the 7th of June. Now if any of you have suggestions to make as to the means of accomplishing this end, pray state them." You may imagine after this no one was bold enough to oppose himself to General Péliissier's wishes, and the French generals for the first time were astonished to find that they had a man of spirit and determination as their chief, whose will was law.

After this considerable snubbing, the Council resolved itself into a committee for settling the details and the plan of attack, which was accordingly done,

always against an assault on the town, and invariably advocated operations in the field. The generals alluded to were Bosquet, commanding the *2nd Corps d'Armée*, Niel, *Chef du Corps du Génie*, and Martimprey, *Chef d'Etat Major*.

and they also decided that a heavy cannonade should be opened for four-and-twenty hours previously ; then nothing remained to be arranged but the hour at which the assault was to take place. The French Generals were for the most part in favour of an attack "*au point du jour*," as they said that their men could then be placed in the advanced trenches without being observed by the enemy. This was objected to by the English officers of the Council, as they said daybreak would be the very time at which the enemy would be most likely to be expecting an assault, and consequently be prepared for it. In the middle of the discussion, General Pélissier interfered, and said, "Lord Raglan and I have made our determination on that point also. The attack will take place late in the afternoon, with sufficient time for our troops to get established in the works before dark." The Council was then broken up.

You will see from what I have told you that General Pélissier is a great contrast to his predecessor : he is a man who cannot bear being dictated to, and one who speedily makes up his mind, and loses no time in carrying out his object with decision. At the same time, he has the greatest respect for Lord Raglan's judgment, and since he has assumed his present high command, he has consulted his Lordship continually, even in trifling matters connected solely with the French army.

I never mentioned to you that, immediately after the French took up the line of the Tchernaya, General Canrobert, who had been given the command of the troops at this point, begged to be relieved and to be replaced by General Morris, who, after all, was of senior rank as general. Of course, General Péliissier acceded to this request, and accordingly General Morris now commands the two French divisions of infantry, and the whole of their cavalry and artillery, posted by the Tchernaya.

The only movement worth recording that we have made since my last letter, was a reconnaissance by the French along the valley of Baidar. It consisted of the whole of the French cavalry and General Canrobert's division of infantry. They met with no opposition, none of the enemy's troops appearing but a few Cossacks. The reconnaissance returned before nightfall. I enclose you, according to your request, one of the latest detailed Parade States (June 3rd) of the English army in the Crimea.*

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
June 9th, 1855.

Of course you will have heard long before this, by the electric telegraph, of the successful issue of the assault on the Mamelon Vert and other works. I

* Vide Appendix B.

will now give you a general outline of the operations of the last three days, together with some of the details of the attack. The Allies opened their fire at 3 P.M. on the 6th instant, against the beleaguered town. The English batteries consisted of 155 guns and mortars,* all of heavy calibre, probably the most powerful ordnance ever used before at a siege. All the batteries of the French Inkermann attack likewise opened (upwards of 100 guns and mortars), but their old attack between the English left and the sea fired but little, as they are very short of ammunition; besides which, many of the guns are much worn. So, in fact, the cannonade upon the town generally was not so heavy as when we opened in April last, but from the English attacks far more severe, as our guns are advanced nearer the enemy's works, and many are of heavier metal, besides there being a greater number of them. We apparently took the Russians by surprise, for they did not answer from their batteries for some minutes. This cannonade

* MORTARS.		GUNS.				TOTAL.
13-Inch.	10-Inch.	68-Pndrs.	32-Pndrs.	10-Inch.	8-Inch.	
27	17	8	49	8	46	155

NOTE.—For further details of the English batteries at the opening of the third bombardment, *vide* Appendix C.

and bombardment has been kept up ever since, and will not be discontinued till a general assault is made upon the town, and, it is hoped, with success. The effect of our fire was such that, by midday of the 7th instant, the Russian batteries were almost silenced, that is to say, we were throwing twenty, and in some instances thirty, shot to one from them. But this was not accomplished without a heavy loss to us, and on the morning of that day a powder-magazine was blown up by a Russian shell in one of our most advanced batteries, which for some time completely ruined it.

As you are aware, the details of the attack on the Mamelon Vert, the Ouvrages Blancs, and the Quarries had been arranged at the Council of War a few days before. The arrangements for the English assault were as follows:—Two parties of 200 men each, placed in the advanced trench, right attack, were to turn the flanks of the Quarries, after capturing which, they were to advance towards the Redan as far as practicable, and then, lying down, keep up a heavy fire of musketry upon the embrasures of the enemy's batteries in their front. This they were to do, to cover the work of 800 men, who were, immediately on the Quarries being taken, to enter and commence operations to turn that work in our favour, and make a trench to connect it with our most advanced parallel. Besides this, there were two bodies of 500 men each ready to support in case of need, and also two

regiments were to be placed in reserve in the Woronzoff-road ravine, between our two attacks. Of course, there was to be the usual guard of the trenches and the artillerymen serving the guns, amounting to about 3000 men ; so that in all we probably should have about 6000 men present for the operation, the whole to be under the command of the general officer of the trenches, right attack, on duty for the day.

The French attacks on the Mamelon and the Ouvrages Blancs were, of course, to be on a far greater scale. You should first understand, that the French Inkermann attack is divided obliquely by the Careening Bay ravine, so that, in point of fact, you may say that there are two attacks, although they are not generally known as such. Four entire divisions of the 2nd corps d'armée were told off for the purpose. On the right of the ravine, General Mayran's division was to assault the Ouvrages Blancs, supported by General Dulac. On the left of the ravine, General Camou's division was to attack the Mamelon, supported by General Brunet's. There were to be two battalions of the Imperial Guard in reserve, and also a division of Turks under the command of Osman Pasha, but these last were to be at a considerable distance in rear—in fact, on the ground before Inkermann. Besides all this, there were to be the usual guard of the trenches (about 3000 men) and the artillerymen (about 1000), so that in all our allies were to have present at least 34,000 men.

It was about half-past 5 P.M. that Lord Raglan, accompanied by the whole of the Staff, left Headquarters and rode up to Cathcart's Hill, in front of the 4th Division. On his arrival in the camps, his Lordship was greeted with the most tremendous cheers; all the men turning out of their huts and tents, crowded round the Staff, and made the whole plateau resound with their loud huzzas. Nothing could exceed the spirits of the troops. This excitement had indeed commenced the day before, for on Lord Raglan passing through the camps on the 6th instant, to see the opening of our fire, he was vociferously cheered by the men. General Péliissier also came in for his share of popularity with the British soldiers, for on returning from Fort Victoria on that evening, he was received with loud plaudits by the Light Division, which was taken up in succession by each of the English divisional camps through which he rode. I understand from his Staff that he was much touched with this proof of popularity, and, with tears in his eyes, he turned to an aide-de-camp and said, "With troops in such high spirits as these, we cannot but succeed." What made General Péliissier feel this the more, was the fact that he is fully aware he is not liked in the French army. Not that they do not think him a good general, but he is looked upon rather as disregarding the lives of his troops, so long as his aim is gained; and, as they know

him to be a man of great determination, and one who never changes his mind, he is more feared than liked.

But to return to where we left Lord Raglan on Cathcart's Hill, on the afternoon of the 7th. Lord Raglan and the Staff dismounted, and, leaving their horses there, proceeded on foot to a knoll just in rear of the right of Chapman's battery, as from that point the best general view could be obtained of the French and English trenches, and the enemy's works to be captured; and which, although an exposed place, was at the time, comparatively speaking, safe, as the fire from the town was so much silenced. A flag-staff had been erected half-an-hour previously at this spot, that the Commander-in-Chief might signalise to the General Officer in the advanced trenches for the assault of the Quarries. This was Colonel Shirley, 88th Regiment, who, as senior officer, acted as a Brigadier-General in the Light Division. The attack was to be begun by the French, as some guns in the Mamelon completely enfiladed the Quarries, and consequently it would not be tenable until the Mamelon was taken. We waited in anxious expectation for near half-an-hour, when the signal of three rockets, fired from the Victoria Redoubt, in which General Péliissier was stationed, was given. It was then a quarter before 7 P.M. In two or three minutes we saw the Zouaves rushing up the side of the Mamelon

towards the work, in a cloud of skirmishers. They formed the advance of the left column of attack, and consequently were more under our immediate observation. Beyond them was a regiment of the line, and again on the further side the Mamelon was assaulted by the Tirailleurs Indigènes. These three regiments formed one brigade of General Camou's division. Nothing could be more magnificent than the advance of these troops. The garrison of the Mamelon, who had kept themselves as much under cover as possible, for protection from the awful fire which had, since early dawn, been poured upon them from the batteries of the Allies, now that they were relieved from the heavy cannonade and bombardment, sallied forth to defend their work from the assault of the French. Their efforts were of no avail, nothing could stop the impetuosity of the Zouaves: regardless alike of danger and death, these gallant men rushed on, and, with a rapidity quite astonishing, descended the ditch and clambered up the high parapet of the redoubt, and though the first who entered the work met with a soldier's death, they were speedily avenged by their comrades who followed them. A footing once obtained in the angle of the redoubt, the Mamelon was lost to the Russians, for the French troops now poured in everywhere along the face of the work, and in the course of a quarter of an hour the whole of the assaulting column, consisting of General Camou's

division (from 4000 to 5000 men), were in and about the Mamelon redoubt.

During this attack a desperate struggle had been going on at the Ouvrages Blancs. As soon as the signal of three rockets for the advance of the troops was seen, the two brigades of General Mayran's division advanced, each in column, against the two works known as the Ouvrages Blancs, but before reaching the objects of their attack, suffered very severely from the heavy fire poured upon them from the batteries of the town. The first was assaulted in the most determined manner, and carried by the French troops with but little loss, the garrison being driven out and retiring into the work in their rear, much the strongest of the two, and which as yet had not been reached by the column of French destined to assault it. They had not however long to wait : the French pushed on with great steadiness in spite of the heavy fire of musketry, shot, and shell hurled upon them at every step of their advance. The garrison fought manfully, but nothing could withstand the ardour of our allies : led by their officers right up to the work, a large portion engaged the enemy with a tremendous musketry fire, while others jumped into the ditch, and scrambled up the outward face of the parapet. A desperate hand-to-hand combat ensued, in which the French soon gained the mastery ; once in the work, its fate was decided. Those of its garrison who

were not killed or wounded were driven out, and retreated to a small work which had been constructed early in May in rear of those mentioned, which was situated at the point of land which runs out between Careening Bay and the harbour. This redoubt, though of but little importance to the enemy as an offensive work (except as a *place d'armes* for collecting troops for the support of the *Ouvrages Blancs*), was nevertheless a most dangerous one to attack, as it was completely commanded by a heavy battery in the town, and also by several others on the north side of the harbour. But in spite of these difficulties, the French, flushed by their success, advanced from the work they had last captured, and succeeded in penetrating into it, the garrison retiring down the steep slope between it and Careening Bay. The enemy in the town seeing that their own men had abandoned the work, immediately poured a heavy fire upon it, which, causing the French considerable loss, they very wisely evacuated it, after spiking the few guns it contained.

Seeing the success which had attended the assaults on the *Ouvrages Blancs*, General Dulac, commanding the supporting division, sent forward one of his brigades as a reinforcement, and two battalions going down the ravine towards Careening Bay, came upon the Russian garrison of the captured works retiring towards the defences of the town, round the head

of the bay. The latter, being taken by surprise on the sudden appearance of the two French battalions, fled precipitately, and our allies, rushing down upon them, succeeded in making 12 officers and 280 men prisoners.

I have thus related to you the most important events of the French attack; we must now return to the exploits of our own men. Immediately on Lord Raglan perceiving that the Mamelon was penetrated by General Camou's division, he ordered the signal to be hoisted for the advance of the British troops against the Quarries. The storming party of the English, consisting of men of the 7th Fusiliers, 31st, 34th, and 88th regiments, under the immediate command of Lieut.-Col. Campbell (90th regiment), instantly rushed out from the flanks of the advanced trench, and took the Quarries at the point of the bayonet, without firing a shot; so suddenly was this movement executed, that the enemy, although evidently expecting an attack, were seized with a panic, and bolted towards the Redan, leaving behind them between 70 and 80 men, who were bayoneted in the work: only 3 Russians were made prisoners. The working party of 800 men was immediately brought up and set to work to connect the Quarries with our advanced trenches, and also to throw up a parapet on the side of the Quarries towards the Russians. The workmen were covered

by the men of the storming party, who advanced towards the Redan, and lying down, kept up a well-directed fire into the embrasures of the Russian batteries. I need scarcely tell you, that all this time, from the very commencement, a heavy cannonade had been kept up from the trenches of the Allies against the batteries of the enemy, especially those of the Malakoff and Redan.

Shortly after all this, when we began to fancy that the Allies were well established in the captured works, a heavy column of Russians sallied out of the town near what is called the "Little Redan," situated about midway between the Malakoff and the harbour. They advanced as if with the intention of retaking the Mamelon, and the Zouaves, excited by the success that had attended them, very foolishly rushed out to attack the enemy, which they did with such impetuosity, that the column was driven back to the works of the town in such confusion and disorder that many of the men got into the ditch and scrambled over their own parapets in preference to waiting for their turn, so as to retire through the sally-port. The Zouaves continued close on the enemy, and attempted to follow them into the body of the place, but the Russian artillerymen, disregarding the lives of their own men mixed up with the French, fired into the mass with shell and grape-shot from a flanking battery near the edge of the

harbour. The most horrible carnage now ensued, and the Zouaves, after having endeavoured with rash bravery to penetrate the lines of the enemy both at the sally-port and also over the ditch and parapet between it and the Malakoff, were finally compelled to retire towards the Mamelon, after having lost an immense number of men.

Just as they began to retire, a sort of panic seized the troops occupying the Mamelon; some one had found a burning fuse sticking in the ground, and therefore supposed that it was connected with a mine to blow up the work. This report spread amongst the men, a panic seized them, and nothing their officers could say or do would prevent their abandoning the Mamelon; so the whole of the troops rushed out, to the number of 3500 men, and when the Zouaves re-entered the Mamelon from their unfortunate attempt to penetrate the works of the town, they found it almost evacuated, and being informed of the reason, caught the panic, and dashing through the redoubt, ran out at the other side, and retired towards their own trenches. The Russians, on the Zouaves first retiring, sallied out again in considerable force, and, following them into the Mamelon, found it deserted, and of course immediately occupied it. Fortunately, as all the guns had been spiked, they were unable to use them against the Allies, and had therefore to depend solely upon their

small arms. Their possession of the Mamelon did not last long, for a portion of General Camou's division, with the whole of General Brunet's, advanced against the work and carried it in the most gallant manner. The Russians fought admirably, and were not driven out until immense numbers had been killed ; then finding themselves outnumbered and entirely overmatched, they retired out of the rear of the Mamelon, and re-entered the works of the town, near the Little Redan. Their retreat was made in good order, unfollowed by the French, who had now learned prudence ; but a heavy fire was poured upon them as they retired, which must have cost them severe loss.

On the Russians retaking the Mamelon, a large body of men were sent out by them from the rear of the Redan to attack the Quarries, but it was entirely unsuccessful ; and although it cost us the lives of many brave men, scarce any of the enemy returned, as the large majority were killed or wounded by the tremendous fire of the troops that occupied it, and also from the guns of our batteries.

It was now quite dark, and, with the exception of the cannonade which continued from the trenches of the allies, nothing of importance took place for two or three hours. Lord Raglan and the Staff returned to Head-quarters shortly after midnight. Between that time and the dawn of day on the ensuing morn-

ing no less than four attacks were made by the enemy on the Quarries, but they never got possession of them for a single moment, and by daylight very tolerable cover had been obtained by the indefatigable exertions of our working parties. In these affairs a few prisoners were made; one of whom, a Russian officer, was captured in the most plucky manner by Corporal Quin, 47th regiment. Our loss during the night, I regret to say, was very considerable: the regiments chiefly engaged, and which suffered most, were — 2nd battalion 1st regiment, 7th Fusiliers, 34th, 47th, 49th, 55th, and 88th regiments. I ought to state that Colonel Shirley, commanding the trenches, right attack, showed the greatest judgment and coolness in carrying out the arrangements made, and on every occasion displayed his usual courage and indifference to danger, and was always to be found where his presence was most required. Colonel Tylden, R.E., made himself very conspicuous by the gallant manner in which he cheered on our men against each attack of the enemy. He also had the direction of the working parties and traced out the new trenches to be constructed.

The French, also, were not unmolested, for the enemy kept up a heavy fire from the north side against the Ouvrages Blancs, and during the latter part of the night a large party of workmen, supported by a body of infantry, turned the head of Careening

Bay, and re-entered the small redoubt, which the French had not been able to occupy. The object of the enemy now was merely to destroy and dismantle it, which was accordingly done before daylight. They then returned to the town.

An unfortunate disaster occurred to the French yesterday (8th) in the death of General Lavarande, who had greatly distinguished himself in the attack of the Ouvrages Blancs the night before. He was killed by a round shot, when reconnoitring the enemy's position from the front of the captured redoubts.

During yesterday nothing fresh of importance occurred. The Allies employed themselves in turning the works they had taken against the enemy, and in connecting them with their trenches. A heavy cannonade on our side went on perpetually, but the enemy in Sevastopol, as if stunned by the disasters of the previous night, continued almost in sullen silence, broken occasionally by salvoes of heavy shells thrown into the Mamelon from the rear of the Malakoff. However, the batteries on the north side were very lively, and fired incessantly at the Ouvrages Blancs, causing the French troops that occupied them considerable loss.

This morning (9th) the enemy sent in a flag of truce to the Mamelon, proposing a suspension of hostilities to bury the dead, and it was settled that

after midday all firing should cease on both sides. I accordingly rode down on a pony to our look-out station in front of the Light Division, and then dismounted and walked down the Karabelnaia ravine, and finally emerged between the Mamelon and the Malakoff Tower. The flags of truce had been flying some time; the line of sentries on both sides had been posted, and the fatigue parties of the Russians and the Allies were carrying to and fro the bodies of the gallant men who had fallen on the 7th. The ground of the scene of contest presented the same horrible appearances as the battle-fields of Alma and Inkermann. Mutilated corpses and bodies covered with ghastly wounds met the eye all around. The pale, upturned, happy faces of some, apparently in peaceful slumber, marked the instantaneous death which they had met; the outstretched arms, as if imploring aid, in others—the dreadful contortions of those who had suffered agonizing deaths—were to be seen in both friend and foe, as they lay close to each other. One battle-field is generally like another, the same features mark all, and as I have before given you some idea of them, I will spare you now the relation of further horrors.

Strolling about the ground, I got into conversation with a young Russian officer, who was very civil and polite in what he said, and appeared to regard the capture of the Mamelon and other works as of but

little importance. While I was conversing with him, a tall handsome man, still in the prime of life, passed by, attended by an orderly on foot. His uniform was like that of the officer with whom I was talking, except that he had a broad gold strap upon his shoulders: his cap also had a certain quantity of lace upon it. As he passed by, my friend drew himself up and saluted, and when he had gone on, I said to him, "Is that an officer of high rank?" to which he replied, "Yes, it is General Todtleben." Being anxious, if possible, to speak to one who had made so great a name for himself, I shortly took leave of my friend, and walked on to where I saw General Todtleben with two French officers, and joining the party, we were soon engaged in conversation. He appeared to treat the capture of the Mamelon with perfect indifference, and said that it had cost them the lives of so many men to construct and hold it, that its value was questionable; adding, significantly, to the French officers, "You will find that to be the case too." He also intimated that we were no nearer taking the place than before. However, it was not said with an air of confidence, only I suppose he felt himself bound to appear cheerful on the occasion. He is a man of very gentlemanlike address, with handsome features, and his bearing seems to betoken great resolution and firmness. I shortly afterwards returned to Head-quarters not a little

pleased at having conversed with General Todtleben, the man who has most distinguished himself in the Russian army during the war.

Before concluding my letter, I must tell you a curious fact, showing how necessary it is for a General commanding an army in the field to use his own discretion, even when contrary to the orders that he may receive from home. The responsibility is of course great, but his reliance on his own judgment should be greater. The instance was as follows :—Shortly before General Pélissier left the French Head-quarters to witness the attack against the enemy's works on the afternoon of the 7th instant, he received a telegraphic message from the Emperor Napoleon, ordering him on no account to assault the Mamelon, as his Majesty considered that it would be attended with defeat and disaster. General Pélissier quietly put the telegram in his pocket, and shortly afterwards mounted his horse and rode off to witness the capture of the Mamelon, &c. When all was over, and he had returned to camp, he showed it in triumph to some officers of his personal staff—a great contrast to General Canrobert's conduct when he received the order for the recall of the Kertch expedition.

I have just heard that Lord Raglan proposed to General Pélissier that the assault on the Malakoff and Redan batteries should be made the morning after the capture of the Mamelon, &c. ; but it was

thought best that a Council of War, consisting of the Generals of Engineers and Artillery of the English and French armies should assemble to discuss the matter. I understand that the English Generals were in favour of an immediate assault, but were overruled by the French, who proposed that certain batteries should be constructed on the Mamelon and Ouvrages Blancs to subdue more completely the enemy's fire from the Malakoff and ships in harbour. These batteries are to be completed in about a week's time. This plan having been decided upon, the English also are to erect fresh batteries against the Redan. In consequence of these arrangements, the fire from our guns has been ordered to be reduced, after the suspension of hostilities of this day, from 100 to 20 rounds in the twenty-four hours.

The following is an approximate return of the casualties of the Allies during the 7th and 8th inst. :—

				Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
English	{ Officers	..	..	6	30	} 492
	{ Men	..	..	25	431	
French	{ Officers	..	..	90	..	} 2,790
	{ Men	..	..	2,700	..	
						<hr/> 3,282

The Russian losses are variously stated : judging from the reports of prisoners, their casualties were quite as great inside as outside their works. I understand the French declare that they gave over to—

day between 700 and 800 Russian bodies, which had fallen in and about the Mamelon and Ouvrages Blancs, besides which, they could see heaps of slain being removed outside the sallyport, near the Little Redan. Their loss is estimated at 6000 casualties, but this may possibly be an exaggeration.* I should mention to you that the French gained 73 guns altogether in the different works of the enemy they captured on the 7th instant; of these 52 were in the Mamelon. They took 14 officers and 460 men prisoners, of whom 2 officers and 180 men were wounded.

Head-quarters before Sevastopol,
June 12th, 1855.

You will probably have heard by this time of the telegraphic announcement of the fall of Anapa. It is curious; as, if the Russians had not evacuated it, the Allies would *not* have attacked it. Several days ago, General Pélissier came to Lord Raglan and told him that he had received a positive order from the Emperor by telegraph, "*not to allow the French troops to land at Anapa, but to recall them immediately to before Sevastopol.*" General Pélissier was

* The 'Invalide Russe,' in recounting the capture of the Mamelon and other works, places their loss at about half this, viz. 100 officers, and 2800 men killed and wounded.

quite as much disgusted as Lord Raglan at having the arrangements they had made overthrown by the Emperor, but of course there was no help for it, and a steamer was accordingly despatched with orders for the French troops to return immediately to Kamiesch. The same morning that this steamer arrived at Kertch, another came in with the intelligence that the enemy had evacuated Anapa, after having destroyed the principal public buildings and all the military stores and guns, and that the town was then occupied by the Circassians. Of course, as the recall of the French part of the expedition was kept a secret, what I have just told you will probably not be generally known. Orders have now been sent for the expedition, naval and military, to return here; with the exception of the small English and French force left to garrison Kertch and Yenikale, besides a brigade of Turks.

In the mean time, matters are going on as regards the siege much in the same way as before the taking of the Mamelon. The French are constructing heavy batteries on the Mamelon and Ouvrages Blancs, to fire against the Malakoff Tower, the Little Redan, and the ships in harbour. The English are sapping up from the Quarries towards the Great Redan, and have already got 100 yards in advance of them. Our casualties have been considerable since my last letter, but our near approach to the

works of the town naturally causes us greater loss than heretofore. Our allies have suffered very considerably in the last captured works from the enemy. I understand that since their occupation of the Mamelon, they have lost daily in it alone 100 men, chiefly from the salvoes of shells, which the Russians perpetually pour upon them from mortar batteries in rear of the Malakoff. In the Ouvrages Blancs, their losses have likewise been severe, caused by the fire from the enemy's batteries on the north side of the harbour.

Omer Pasha, for some reason or other, has taken offence, and says he has not been treated with confidence by the allied generals, and that they only employ his troops to do the dirty work. Unfortunately General Pélissier, to all appearance, treats his (Omer Pasha's) opinion with the greatest contempt, and, I understand, at the conferences never listens to a word he says. Omer Pasha has in consequence written to the Turkish Government demanding to be allowed to send in his resignation. His want of cordiality towards Lord Raglan has been occasioned by hearing of the proposed Turkish Contingent, of which he not unnaturally supposes Lord Raglan to be the originator. He says, and I think with justice, that it will tend to demoralize his army, as the English propose to give the troops of the Turkish Contingent higher pay than his get, and that of course

they will receive it regularly ; whereas his troops at this moment are ten months in arrears of pay !! This, he thinks, will make his troops discontented with their present position.

I am sorry to say the cholera has been, and still is, very bad among the Sardinian troops. Four days ago they lost in twenty-four hours 4 officers and 76 men, all of whom died of cholera. The last three days it has decreased ; yesterday they lost 1 officer and 47 men. Among the officers was a brother of General La Marmora, who commanded one of their divisions. In the English army, I am glad to say, the cholera is diminishing rapidly, and it appears in a milder form, as many men taken with it recover.

I have just heard from good authority that we are to re-open our fire and bombardment against the defences of the town on Thursday next (14th) ; and on Saturday morning (16th), at 6 o'clock, a general assault on the Malakoff and Redan is to take place.

I enclose you the list of casualties from the 8th to the 10th of June inclusive.

				Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	..	..	..	..	5
Men	..	..	..	24	109
					<hr/>
Total	..	..	..	24	114
					<hr/>
Casualties	..	..	..	..	138

CHAPTER XVII.

Return of the Kertch expedition — Arrangements for the assault on Sevastopol — General Bosquet takes command of the troops on the Tchernaya — *English not to advance until the French have gained the Malakoff* — Opening of the 4th bombardment, June 17th — At the eleventh hour French insist upon assaulting *au point du jour* — Lord Raglan strongly objects — Assault takes place on morning of 18th June — General Mayran mistakes the signal, and advances before the proper time — He is mortally wounded, and his troops retire in confusion — General Brunet killed, and his column repulsed — General d'Autemarre's column penetrates the battery Gervais — Lord Raglan gives the signal for the English assault — Terrific fire poured upon the British troops — Deaths of Colonel Yea and Shadforth, and Major-General Sir John Campbell — Unavailing efforts of the English troops — They retire to their trenches — Lord Raglan orders all the English guns to open — His dangerous position — General Jones wounded — French, being unsupported, are forced to retire from the battery Gervais — Enemy's guns almost silenced — Consultation of the two Commanders-in-Chief — General Pélissier decides that a fresh assault is not practicable — Causes of the failure of the attack — General Eyre takes the Cemetery, &c. — Severe loss among our troops from the Russian cannonade — General Pélissier promises to relieve General Eyre's force, but no relief arrives, and the brigade retires — Names of officers who distinguished themselves — Suspension of arms on the 19th — Numbers of Generals incapacitated — Cemetery again re-occupied by English and French troops — Russian deserters' accounts — Casualties of the Allies on the 18th instant — Fearful storm on the 23rd — Death of General Estcourt — Lord Raglan's grief — Death of Captain Lyons of the "Miranda" — Lord

Raglan's illness — His sudden death — Grief of the whole army and sympathy of the Allies — The Field Marshal's last General Order — Description of the procession — Lord Raglan's remains are taken home in the "Caradoc" — General Orders issued by the Commanders-in-Chief of the French and Sardinian armies on the occasion of Lord Raglan's death.

Head-quarters, before Sevastopol,
June 16th, 1855.

IN my last letter, I told you it had been arranged that the batteries of the allies should re-open on the 14th, and that the principal works of the enemy should be assaulted this morning, but as usual, the French found out at the eleventh hour that they could not be ready in time. It is now settled that we shall open fire to-morrow morning at daybreak, and that on Monday (18th) at 6 A.M. the assault is to take place. The allied fleets came back yesterday morning from the expedition to Kertch, having completed one of the most successful, though bloodless operations in the annals of war. I enclose you a General Order, which gives a summary of the latest successes of the expedition.*

* *Extract from the General Orders, 14th June, 1855:—*

"The naval operations against Taganrog, Marianopol, and Geisk, which took place on the 3rd, 5th, and 6th instant, have been perfectly successful. The public buildings, and numerous magazines of provisions, have been burnt, thereby causing immense loss of supplies to the enemy.

"The fortress of Anapa was abandoned and destroyed by the enemy on the 5th instant: 30,000 sacks of flour were destroyed in the neighbourhood of Arabat on the 9th instant."

I believe it is intended that at the moment of our assaulting the town, the ships of the line of the allied fleets are to make a demonstration against the sea defences of Sevastopol, but they are not to engage them, only to threaten; in the hope of keeping the marine batteries manned, and thus employ a large force of artillerymen, who would probably otherwise be engaged fighting in the land defences against the allied troops.

The general plan of assault is, I understand, to be as follows (going from west to east on the map). I will divide the position of the allied trenches into four parts, viz. :—1st. French left attack. 2nd. English left attack. 3rd. English right attack. 4th. French right or Inkermann attack. The assault from the French left attack is to consist of three distinct columns of a division each; one on the left, to attack the Quarantine batteries, one in the centre, to attack the Bastion Centrale, and one on the right, to attack the Bastion du Mât: the whole to be under the direction of the General Commanding the 1st Corps d'Armée, General de Salles. As the Woronzoff Road Ravine runs across the front of the English left attack, and between it and the defences of the town, no column of attack is to advance from there. From the English right attack, there will be two columns of assault of 400 men each; the left column is to advance from

the left of our attack against the west face of the Redan, under the command of Sir John Campbell: the right column, to advance from the right of our attack, against the east face of the Redan, under the command of Colonel Yea (7th Fusiliers). Besides the above, General Eyre's Brigade (3rd division) is to go down the ravine, between the English left attack and the old French attack, and make a demonstration against the Russian works at the end of the Man-of-War Harbour: General Barnard's Brigade (3rd division) is to be posted in the same ravine, to be ready to give support if necessary to the left column of assault. There are to be also, large supports in our rear parallels, to be brought up as required. The whole of the assault is to be under the command of Sir George Brown. The assault from the French right or Inkermann attack, will also consist of three columns of a division each; the left column, under the command of General d'Autemarre to advance along the Karabelnaia ravine round the Mamelon, and assault the battery Gervais and west face of the Malakoff: the centre column, under the command of General Brunet, to advance from the trenches and Mamelon redoubt, and assault the east face of the Malakoff, the little Redan, and the curtain that connects them both: the right column, under the command of General Mayran, to advance along the Careening

Bay Ravine, and attack the enemy's batteries next the harbour.

The whole of the French assault is to be under the immediate command of General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. Of course, there are also to be supports and reserves in each of the different attacks. I hear that in the French left attack, 15,000 men will be held in reserve ; English attacks, 10,000 ; French Inkermann attack, a division of the Garde Impériale, 10,000 strong, to be placed in rear of the Victoria Redoubt, so as to be available for any column that may require reinforcements. There is also to be a division of 10,000 Turks to be placed on the field of Inkermann. I may as well tell you that the garrison of Sevastopol is calculated, at the present moment, to consist of from 45 to 50,000 men. I believe it is in contemplation, the morning of the attack, to make a demonstration in the direction of the Mackenzie Farm Heights for the purpose of directing the attention of the Russian troops in that quarter. This operation is, it is said, to be under the direction of General Bosquet, who was removed from the command of the 2nd Corps d'Armée and French Inkermann attack by General Pélessier, only yesterday ; his place being, for the present, occupied, as you may have already observed, by General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. This change, I need hardly remark, has greatly annoyed General

Bosquet, who considers that he has been very ill-treated by the General-in-Chief of the French army; but at the same time, it is but just to General Pélissier to state, that on every occasion that he has proposed any offensive movement against the town, General Bosquet has always objected, and I understand, not unfrequently, in very strong terms, besides predicting all sorts of disasters and defeat. Such being the case, General Pélissier very naturally felt that a man who had no confidence in the success of the operations was very unfit to be in command of them.

I should mention to you that several steam-frigates and sloops of war of the allied fleets, are to engage the sea-batteries of Sevastopol, during the two nights previous to the assault, and at the same time, a number of the launches of the line-of-battle ships are to throw rockets into the town, so as to harass the enemy.

Head-quarters, before Sevastopol,
June 19th, 1855.

In endeavouring to give you an account of the proceedings of yesterday, you must not be surprised if it is somewhat confused, as were the whole of yesterday's doings from beginning to end—nothing but confusion and mismanagement. I will also try to give you the apparent reasons for our late repulse.

In my last letter (June 16th), I told you the general arrangements without detail, proposed for the distribution of the troops for the assault. On the afternoon of that day, General Pélissier came to Lord Raglan, and told him that he had been informed by General de Salles, that there was a strong feeling among the officers of engineers and artillery of their left siege attack, that none of their assaults there would be successful; and that he (General Pélissier) thought them unimportant, as the Malakoff was doubtless the key of the town. He proposed therefore that these three assaults should not take place, unless the others on the Redan and Malakoff were perfectly successful. To this, I believe, Lord Raglan objected, but seeing that General Pélissier had himself no confidence in the success of these attacks, he gave way; and it was finally settled that a demonstration only should be made from the French left attack, at the same time as the assaults from the English right, and French Inkermann attacks, but that in the event of these two last being successful, the French left should afterwards assault. The English arrangements for the assault of the Redan were also somewhat changed, and a 3rd column of 400 men was to attack the salient angle of the Redan, in the event of those on the flanks succeeding. The head of each column was to be covered by parties of the rifle brigade, who were to advance in skirmishing order, and getting as

near the Redan as practicable, were to endeavour to pick off the enemy's gunners. Parties of sailors (50 men each) were told off to carry scaling ladders under the direction of Captain Peel, R.N., and others of soldiers (60 men each) to carry wool-bags. An officer of the Royal Engineers was also to go with their parties to direct where the scaling ladders and wool-bags were to be placed. Each column was to be accompanied by an officer and 20 men of the Royal Artillery to spike the enemy's guns, immediately on the work being carried, or turn them against the enemy according to circumstances. *The English were not to advance until after the French had got possession of the Malakoff Tower.* This was all settled on the afternoon and evening of Saturday (16th), and all Sunday the necessary arrangements were being made, and every detail gone into with the generals of division and brigade. The whole of the 1st division was brought up from Balaklava, and camped on the plateau in rear of the 4th division.

At daylight (17th), all the batteries of the allies opened once more a most furious cannonade, which was continued incessantly throughout the day, to all appearance with the greatest success, as the enemy scarcely answered us at all. At night, our horizontal fire ceased, but the vertical fire from all our mortars was continued, and bombs and shells were showered

incessantly into the Malakoff and Redan. One reason for the cessation of our cannonade during the night was to allow, under the cover of the darkness, the assaulting columns, supports, &c., to be moved into the trenches, and arranged well under the shelter of our parapet, and consequently hid from the enemy. I think I told you that 6 o'clock on Monday morning (18th), was the time fixed for the assault to be made, which at this time of year, would be nearly three hours after daybreak: and that, if possible, a heavier fire than ever was to have been poured against the enemy's defences from daylight, until the signal for the advance of our columns was given. Such were the arrangements made between the allied Commanders-in-Chief.

About half-past eight o'clock on Sunday evening (17th), an aide-de-camp from General Péliissier arrived at Head-quarters with a despatch, informing Lord Raglan that a Council of War had just been held of the generals of engineers and artillery, in consequence of an intimation which he (General Péliissier) had received from General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, stating that it was found, upon trial, quite impossible to place the columns of French Infantry for the assault in their trenches, without their being seen by the enemy. He proposed that the assault should take place "*au point du jour*," as the Russians would not have time to make preparations to defend

the place before the columns of assault would be down upon them ; whereas, if they waited until 6 A.M. the enemy, during the three previous hours of daylight, would be certain to discover the presence of the troops, and would naturally suppose that so large a mass of men would not be so placed, without a grand attack being about to take place. The enemy would therefore make every arrangement in their power to counteract the efforts of the allies. General Péliissier stated that the council had discussed the merits and demerits of the case, and had come to the conclusion that it would certainly be best to assault at daybreak, and that he (General Péliissier), though he much regretted changing the plan of operation at so late an hour, thought so also.

Lord Raglan was excessively annoyed at receiving this despatch, and said that, altering all the arrangements at the last moment was quite enough to peril the success of the undertaking. He had all along thought the numbers of the French assaulting columns unnecessarily large : indeed, as the best proof of this, I need only state that they were no less than *fifteen* times the strength of the British ; our columns consisting of 400 men each and the French of 6000 each !! Certainly, they had far more to attack than we had, but still the proportion of troops in their favour was ten times as many as ours. However, indecision at such a moment as this would have been

fatal to the operations ; Lord Raglan therefore agreed to accede to General Pélessier's wishes, but, at the same time, expressed his opinion that the change was most unwise, and he feared that much confusion would ensue. Lord Raglan had then to issue fresh instructions to Sir George Brown and the different General officers connected with the attack ; and it was not until past midnight that his Lordship was able to retire for an hour's rest.

Shortly after 2 A.M. (18th), Lord Raglan and the Staff (consisting in all of upwards of 30 officers), left Head-quarters. It was so dark that we could only go at a foot's pace. In about half an hour, we had reached the commencement of our trenches, right attack ; that is to say, the first parallel or Gordon's battery. We all then dismounted, and proceeding along the trenches on foot, arrived a little before 3 A.M. in the mortar battery third parallel, which spot had been selected by Lord Raglan as commanding a good view of the quarries and Redan, and also of the Mamelon and Malakoff works ; and from its very forward position (being but a few yards in rear of the quarries) was convenient for sending orders, &c. In other respects, it was anything but a spot in which the Commander-in-Chief should have been stationed, as it was exactly where the cross-fire from the Malakoff and Redan met, and thus rendered it perhaps one of the most dangerous

places in the whole of the trenches. Indeed, before we had been there many minutes, as some of the troops were filing past, more than one remarked upon the unsafe spot Lord Raglan had chosen for himself, but his Lordship, although told of it, thought that his position was the best for observing the assault, and consequently declined moving to any other place. We soon found out its danger, as directly the assault commenced a continuous shower of shot, shell, and grape came crashing just over our heads, knocking over portions of the parapet which was low and weak.

General Pelissier had stationed himself in what the French call "*la batterie Lancaster*," which is, in fact, the English old 5-gun battery, and in which we had had four 95 cwt. guns (68-pounders) and one Lancaster. The signal for the advance of the French assaulting columns was to be given by General Pelissier from that place; it was to consist of three fire-work rockets.

While we were waiting for the signal of assault, the anxious moments seemed to drag along, and no wonder, considering how much depended on the issue of another hour. All was still, save the occasional booming of distant guns; for, in our own trenches and those of the French next to us, not a shot was fired, though occasional heavy shell was still thrown from our rear-mortar batteries into the Redan and

Malakoff. The suspense, though of but short duration, was most trying: the darkness, still so considerable that the forms of the men lining the trenches looked like spectres as you traced their dim outline against the black sky, added doubtless much to the feeling of awe which would come over one as the thought crossed one's mind of the approaching struggle, and the brave men who must fall to rise no more before our aim could be accomplished. The idea of an unsuccessful attack never even suggested itself. However, we had not been in the mortar battery more than 10 minutes, it being still quite dark, before we heard a heavy musketry fire going on upon the extreme right of the French Inker-mann attack, apparently about the head of Careening Bay. This increased in rapidity, and in a few moments the roaring of shot and shell was mingled with it, and it seemed as if a pitched battle was raging. We were all at a loss to imagine what it could be, as the signal had not been given, and we therefore concluded that the French could not have advanced as yet. It was generally supposed that it was a sortie from the garrison, who had chosen for us this very inopportune moment to attack the French lines. It soon became apparent that, whatever it was, the whole of the Russian garrison was roused by it, for we could hear the beating of drums and the sounding of trumpets in every direction, inside what we thought

the doomed city. As it afterwards appeared, it was the right French column assaulting the enemy's works between the Little Redan and the Harbour batteries. This, as you may remember, was commanded by General Mayran, who had mistaken an ordinary rocket for the signal of assault, although warned by several of his Staff, that he was in error.

It was still quite dark, and the men leading the column got confused and went directly towards a Russian battery, instead of keeping down the Careening Bay ravine, and then following the edge of the harbour, which would have brought them eventually on the flank of the battery. The enemy's sentries and guards were driven in by the advance of the French column, which very foolishly began to fire upon them, and thus showed the artillerymen in the Russian batteries where they were. They then opened a tremendous fire of shot, shell, and grape upon the French, who were thrown into great confusion by the dreadful slaughter which ensued. General Mayran was himself mortally wounded and was carried to the rear. The troops, losing all confidence, began to retire, followed up by a murderous cannonade both from the Russian batteries and also from some of the ships in harbour which fired up Careening Bay ravine.

It appears that General Péliissier did not arrive in the position he had selected for himself (in the Lan-

caster battery) until ten minutes after the advance of General Mayran's division, and he expressed his astonishment, with considerable warmth, as to who had given the signal. General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély who was also stationed there, and who had witnessed the advance, was as much at a loss to understand how it had happened. However, although it was scarcely daylight, General Pélessier thought it advisable to make the signal for the general assault, and, accordingly, a moment after, three rockets flew into the air and burst into a bouquet of fireworks. (I looked at my watch by the light of a portfire, it was exactly 7 minutes after 3 A.M.) Immediately the two columns under Generals d'Autemarre and Brunet, commenced their advance. The former moved on with rapidity round the left of the Mamelon and up the Karabelnaia Ravine towards the battery Gervais to the west of the Malakoff; but the enemy having been put completely on the *qui vive*, by the premature attack of General Mayran's column, immediately discovered the other columns advancing and opened upon them a most tremendous fire of grape, which in the first minute knocked over dozens of men.

Day now broke, and the first streaks of light showed us General d'Autemarre's column advancing under an awful fire towards the battery Gervais. The Russians redoubled their efforts, and now added

the fire of musketry to that of their heavy guns. The head of General Brunet's column had some difficulty in moving out of the trenches; in fact, the signal for attack was given at least twenty minutes sooner than had been expected, and consequently the French officers had not completed the proper placement of their men, so at the very commencement of their advance, they were more or less in disorder and confusion. Before many minutes, this was greatly increased by the unfortunate death of General Brunet himself, who was shot by a musket ball through the body. The command of this column then devolved upon General Lafont de Villiers. This change in command caused some little delay, and when the troops moved forward to their difficult task, they were met by an overpowering cross-fire from the east face of the Malakoff and the Little Redan. Nevertheless they still pushed on, and almost reached the ditch in front of the curtain connecting the two last named works together. Here they were received by volleys of musketry, fired by masses of the Russian infantry behind the parapets, and to whom, in return, they could do but little harm. After a desperate struggle they were compelled to retire to their trenches, having left on the ground heaps of bodies of their fallen comrades. However, I believe they managed to carry off the greater portion of their wounded.

Immediately on General Pélissier being informed

of the mistake and consequent disaster of General Mayran's column, he ordered down to their assistance four battalions of the division of the "Garde Impériale," which was in reserve. These troops, on arriving in the lower part of Careening Bay Ravine, found the column in a very disordered state, but on receiving this great reinforcement, an assault was again organised under the command of General de Failly (who had succeeded General Mayran, after he had been carried to the rear), but unfortunately with the same result as before; the leading troops being swept away at any fresh discharge from the enemy's batteries. The assault by this column was therefore most reluctantly abandoned, and they retired up the ravine towards their own trenches, carrying with them their wounded, and covered by the battalions of the "Garde" under General Mellinet.

To return now to General d'Autemarre's division, or the left column of assault. Their progress towards the point of attack was necessarily slow from the frightful fire which they encountered. Nevertheless, in the course of a few minutes, a great mass of men had arrived at the ditch before the battery "Gervais;" their formation had been much broken by their severe losses, and they presented more the appearance of a hurried crowd, than a regularly formed body of troops. But this was of less importance, as all were animated by the same desire of

penetrating into the enemy's work. A rattling fire of musketry was now going on between the Russian troops behind their parapets, and the French column, which caused the latter, especially, very considerable loss, and of course added much to the confusion.

In a few minutes more, we had the satisfaction of seeing some of the French clambering over the parapet of the enemy's battery, and they were immediately followed by many others. After penetrating the work, the French found themselves in the Karabelnaia suburb; the houses of which were mere hovels, mostly without roofs, but their low stone walls made admirable cover for troops; and on the Russian infantry and artillery being driven out of the battery Gervais by the entrance of our allies, they fled to these houses, and kept up a heavy fire, which greatly checked the progress of the French. The officer commanding the most advanced companies, and who had led the assaulting column throughout, Commandant Garnier, so disposed his troops, that, as far as possible, they should be under cover from the guns of the Malakoff and the fire of the Russian infantry, while he despatched repeated requests for reinforcements to be sent up from the rear.

We must now leave our allies, and turn to the advanced mortar battery where Lord Raglan and the Staff were assembled. But first, I must remind you

of the conditions, on which our troops were to advance against the Redan, viz.: that the English were not to assault, until the French got possession of the Malakoff. That, as you already know, they never did, although they penetrated the battery Gervais on its flank, as I have already described. It had now been daylight some little time, and Lord Raglan, on seeing and admiring the gallant efforts the French were making, felt that he would hardly be doing them justice, if he were not to second their endeavours by ordering our assault on the Redan, which would necessarily take off a portion of the enemy's fire from our allies, and thus make a diversion in their favour. Accordingly, he gave the order for the signal of two rockets for the advance of our two flanking columns to be made. Immediately after we saw the parties of rifles leaving our trenches and running up towards the abattis round the Redan, followed directly by a portion of the 33rd regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, who led the stormers of the right column. The parties of sailors carrying scaling ladders quickly followed (led in the most gallant manner by Captain Peel, R. N.), as also did the soldiers told off to carry woolsacks. Besides these, the artillerymen to spike the guns rushed forward; but of these three distinct parties, scarce one-third returned untouched, the rest all being killed or wounded.

The troops moved out of the trench in anything but good order: they had been arranged along it about three deep, and immediately the signal was given, had to clamber over the parapet, and thus started in some sort of confusion. The Russians were quite prepared for their appearance, for they instantly opened a most tremendous fire of grape and musketry. Colonel Johnstone was almost immediately severely wounded, and had his arm shattered. Seeing their leader fall, the men naturally got dispirited, and the torrent of grape-shot which swept through and through them sensibly diminished the thin line of British troops. The men began to waver when Colonel Yea, perceiving the state of affairs, saw there was nothing for it but to endeavour to form the men up in some sort of way, and lead them to the attack. This he did by voice and gesture, and then putting himself at their head, gallantly led the way towards the Redan. He was some yards in advance of his column, when a charge of grape-shot struck him in the body and head, and he fell to the ground, pointing out with his sword the direction the troops were to take. Thus gloriously fell, at the head of his men, one of the bravest and best officers in the British army.

So many officers had now been killed and wounded that no orders were given: the men became completely disheartened and commenced firing against

the Russians, who swarmed in hundreds on the parapet of the Redan, displaying great bravery in the manner in which they exposed themselves in repelling the advance of our men. The fire from the Russians, if anything, increased, and the British troops, after in vain endeavouring to make further advance, were compelled to retire to our trenches.

I have now only described to you the right column of attack, because it was immediately in front of where the Staff were stationed, and, we could see them so much better than the other column. However, there is but little to tell different in the assault of the left column to that I have just described. The same confusion occurred at the first movement of advance from the same causes; Colonel Shadforth (57th regiment), who led the storming party, was shot dead before he was many yards out of our trench. Upon seeing this, Major-General Sir John Campbell immediately went forward to lead the stormers himself. The men, struck by his noble devotion, rallied directly and followed Sir John up towards the west face of the Redan, but on arriving close to the abattis, he met with the same fate which almost at the same time, attended Colonel Yea, and he fell dead, while in the act of cheering on his men. The officer next in seniority, was Colonel Lord West (21st regiment), who took the command and used his best endeavours to form the

stormers up for another effort, but it was too late now: the men reduced to half their numbers could not be properly got together. All hope of success was for the present at an end; there was nothing for it but to retire to the trenches and organise a fresh attack.

I cannot tell you what a feeling of disappointment came over all, as we saw that the gallant efforts of our men had been unavailing. Lord Raglan, who maintained his usual coolness and decision in spite of the reverses with which our men had met, immediately ordered General Dacres (Commanding Royal Artillery) to give directions for every gun and mortar to open, in both attacks, that could be brought to bear either on the Redan or Malakoff. This was promptly executed, and in five minutes we had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing our shot and shell fly roaring through the air, carrying death and destruction to our enemies.

I should have told you that from the moment of the first advance of the British troops, and when the enemy opened their terrible fire of grape-shot, &c., we found our situation in the mortar battery anything but pleasant, as these dreadful missiles came about us like hail, and, considering the danger we were in, it was wonderful that any escaped alive. Lord Raglan desired every one, both officers and men, to sit down, so as to keep as much under cover

as possible, and not attract the attention of the enemy by looking over the parapet. But his lordship and General Jones, from the first moment that we came into the battery until after our troops had retired, leant over and watched the assault of our allies first and afterwards our own. It was strange to observe the countenances of these two veterans; perfectly calm and collected, they talked earnestly to one another, but without any excitement being apparent in voice or gesture, disregarding alike the heavy round shot and minié ball, which every moment flew close past them. Shortly after the first advance of our troops, General Jones, while leaning over the parapet conversing with Lord Raglan, was struck on the forehead by a grape-shot, which of course knocked him backwards—we all thought dead; he was caught when falling by one of his aides-de-camp, and gently laid down on the ground. It was a pitiful sight to see the poor old general, with a frightful gash across his forehead, his face covered with blood, which came streaming down from the wound. However, to the great delight of all, upon being given some water, he appeared to revive, and a medical officer being in attendance, his wound was dressed and a bandage placed round his head. He shortly after took his place again by Lord Raglan's side, who, when he ascertained that General Jones was not mortally wounded, had returned to watch

the progress of the attack. An officer of the 88th regiment, Captain Brown, was standing among the Staff and talking to some of us, when a round shot came and took his arm clean off, the limb flying several yards from him, and nearly striking General Airey, who was on the other side of the trench, on the chest. An artilleryman, who was with us to discharge the signal rockets, had his head smashed by some grape-shot, and a sapper, who was also there with signal flags (in case they were required) was killed by a round shot going through his chest: the poor fellow was literally knocked to pieces. Enough of these horrible details. I only mention them as coming under my immediate observation.

In the mean time, when Commandant Garnier's messenger reached General d'Autemarre, he, having no more reinforcements at hand, sent back to General Péliissier, informing him of the state of affairs at the battery Gervais. General Péliissier, on hearing this, ordered the Zouaves of the Garde to move down without delay to reinforce Commandant Garnier. But all this took a long time to accomplish. In the first place, the French Commander-in-Chief was upwards of a mile as the crow flies from General d'Autemarre's position, so that a messenger, having to pass along crowded trenches, the way perpetually blocked up by wounded men being carried to the rear, would be at least half-an-hour in reaching the

Lancaster battery. Then again, from there General Pélissier had to send back to the general officer commanding the Garde in rear of the Victoria redoubt, which of course would also take some little time. Altogether it was upwards of an hour from the time General d'Autemarre despatched his messenger, to the time when the Zouaves of the Garde began their march. They had not proceeded any distance before intelligence reached General Pélissier that the English assault had been unsuccessful, and also, that the French in the battery Gervais had been forced to retire. He therefore gave orders to halt the Zouaves until he had communicated with Lord Raglan. He then gave orders to General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély to make arrangements for a fresh attack, which he did, by sending instructions to that effect to General d'Autemarre, who, in consequence of the death of General Brunet and the mortal wound of General Mayran, was now senior officer in the trenches. The French Commander-in-Chief then despatched General Rose with this information to Lord Raglan, and expressed a hope that he would agree with him, and organise a fresh attack from our trenches; in which case the French troops should again assault the Malakoff as soon as possible, and in the event of their being successful he hoped the English would attack the Redan, as before arranged.

But to return once more to the English trenches. Our batteries had, during this time, been keeping up a rapid and well-directed fire against the enemy's works, and in the course of three quarters of an hour from the time they opened, the enemy's guns were almost silenced ; this showed what an error it was, not having the three hours bombardment previous to the assault, as Lord Raglan had so earnestly desired, and to which the French, at the eleventh hour, would not agree. As to their idea, that the enemy, with a garrison of 45,000 men in Sevastopol, would be unprepared, or taken by surprise by our attacking them at daylight, it seems to me simply absurd, and our experience with the Russians up to the present time ought pretty well to have shown us how much on the alert they always are. Besides, it is an established rule with all armies in the field, in presence of an enemy or a besieged town, that the troops are invariably all under arms an hour or more before daylight, as that hour is supposed to be dangerous, and you cannot be aware as to what movement the enemy may have made during the night.

But this is a digression. When Lord Raglan saw that the enemy's fire was once again completely subdued by the cannonade and bombardment we had brought to bear upon them, he resolved, with the concurrence of General Pélissier, that a fresh attack should be made, and for this purpose, he gave

directions to Sir George Brown to order down the supports, and have them placed in the advanced trenches in the same manner as the last, ready for an assault. He then despatched Colonel Vico to General Pélissier to inform him of the arrangements he had made, and proposing that another attack on the Malakoff and Redan should take place after a few hours longer bombardment, which would not unlikely put the Russians off their guard, and more completely silence their batteries; besides giving time for the removal of the wounded out of the advanced trenches, and also for replacing those troops, that had already been engaged, with fresh bodies of men.

Well, Lord Raglan waited for a long time for General Pélissier's answer, and at last General Rose arrived with the message, which I have already told you, from the French Commander-in-Chief. It appeared that he had met Colonel Vico just at the entrance of our trenches, so that the two messages of the allied generals had crossed. Lord Raglan, fearing that there might be some mistake, as his and General Pélissier's ideas of the best time to assault were rather at variance, thought it best to go and settle the question himself. Accordingly, he proceeded, accompanied by his Staff, to the rear of our trenches. Passing along the trenches on our return was anything but a movement of rapidity: the approaches were quite choked with the supports and

fresh troops coming down, and were perpetually blocked up by the poor wounded fellows, officers and men, who were being borne to the rear on litters. It was shortly after 7 A.M. when Lord Raglan arrived at the Lancaster Battery, where he found General Péliissier, General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and the French Generals of Engineers and Artillery. The two Commanders-in-Chief retired, and had a long consultation together ; I understand General Péliissier was perfectly ready to fall in with Lord Raglan's views. But before they had fully arranged their plans, a message arrived from General d'Autemarre to his Commander-in-Chief, to the effect, that he feared it was quite impossible to assault again, as the French losses had been so great, and the troops were so dispirited that he doubted the result being successful ; and adding, that in his opinion, it would only be taking the troops to be uselessly slaughtered. General Péliissier was a good deal puzzled what to do, but very properly thinking that, in this instance, General d'Autemarre's opinion, as regards the temper of his troops was superior to his own, he thought it impossible to attack, and appealed to Lord Raglan for his advice. I understand that his Lordship gave it, that much as he wished for an immediate repetition of the assault, it would be absurd attempting it, if the French troops were really as dispirited as General d'Autemarre appeared to consider. In this

dilemma, General Pélissier decided that the risk was too great, and consequently the proposed attack was abandoned.

Thus ended the unfortunate assault of the allies on the Malakoff and Redan on the 18th of June. I believe its failure was chiefly owing to two causes: the first and greatest, that a cannonade and bombardment of two or three hours' duration did not take place on the Malakoff and Redan previous to the assault, as it would be perfectly impossible for any large body of troops to exist in those works, exposed to the tremendous fire the allies could bring to bear upon them. The second cause, a fatal one also, was General Mayran attacking before the proper time, and consequently giving the enemy an opportunity of repelling, as it were, the different columns of attack in detail, and likewise hurrying, as I have described, the movements of the other columns, especially as regards the division of General Brunet. In operations of this nature, simultaneous movement is absolutely necessary to ensure success. Had the three assaulting columns of our allies advanced at the same moment, I believe the day might have been successful; but the enemy had time to repulse the attack of General Mayran before called upon to drive back that of General Brunet.

Another error which was committed on this day, but one which we cannot but admire from the motives

which actuated it, and the bravery it called forth, was the fact of the general officers commanding each column taking the post of leaders of a storming party. Out of the five general officers who commanded each column, four met with a glorious but untimely death, by which sad catastrophe, in each instance, their men were thrown more or less into confusion, and the commands devolved on officers, who although possibly equally brave and zealous, were probably not so well informed of the arrangements for the attack. The names of these gallant generals, as you already know, were, General Mayran, mortally wounded; General Brunet, killed; Colonel Yea (Acting-Brigadier-General), killed; and Major-General Sir John Campbell, killed.

After a protracted conference with General Pé-lissier, Lord Raglan returned to the English Headquarters, visiting on his way the different divisional camp hospitals, cheering, with his kind manner and sympathising words, many a poor fellow who was suffering from the torture of his wounds. He arrived back at Headquarters about midday, and there found that his despatches and letters from England had just arrived. One of the first letters he opened announced to him the death of his last surviving sister, a blow which, to his kind heart and warm affections, was even more severe than the disasters of the day.

I will now shortly relate to you the attack of General Eyre's column against the enemy's defences at the end of the Man-of-War harbour. It appears, that about an hour previous to the signal of assault, General Eyre started down the ravine, between the English Left attack and the old French trenches, with his column, consisting of about 2,000 men of the 9th, 18th, 28th, 38th, and 44th Regiments. They arrived at the extremity of our works a little before 3 A.M. ; General Eyre then halted the column and made his arrangements for the assault. Volunteers from each regiment, to the number of about 200, formed an advance guard under Major Fielden of the 44th regiment (who distinguished himself throughout the day). These were supported by three battalions ; on the right the 44th and 38th regiments, and on the left the 18th Regiment ; the two remaining battalions of the 9th and 28th regiments being kept in rear as a reserve. A body of French infantry had also been told off to co-operate on the left with the English troops. The troops were then ordered to advance. The first obstacle in their way were two ambuscades, occupied by small parties of the enemy ; these were immediately captured without any loss to the allied troops, the English taking the one in their front and the French the other on the left. Our allies then contented themselves with the assistance they had given us and

314. GEN. EYRE TAKES THE CEMETERY. CHAP. XVII.

advanced no further, the officer commanding them intimating that he had instructions not to proceed beyond that point. Immediately after this, the English troops marched on the cemetery on their front, which had always, up to this time, been occupied by a strong body of the enemy. As it was not yet daylight, it was impossible to estimate their force, but from the flashes of their muskets when they fired first on our advancing column, it would seem that they were in considerable numbers. However, they made but little stand and our men got possession and occupied the cemetery with but little loss, the Russians retiring to some houses on either side of the ravine, in rear of the cemetery. General Eyre ordered these houses to be attacked, which was immediately done. The 18th regiment advanced, drove out the enemy and occupied the houses on the left, which were immediately under what are known as the Garden batteries to the left rear of the Bastion du Mât: the houses on the right were taken and occupied by the 44th regiment, and the 38th was pushed forward and took some houses in their front, from whence they commanded and took in reverse a portion of the Strand battery, which is at the extremity of the Man-of-War creek, and sweeps with its guns the ravine our troops occupied.

On the enemy being driven out of the houses above-mentioned, they retired to the town defences

on each flank of the ravine, those on the right going to the barrack batteries and those on the left to the Garden batteries. The enemy then opened a heavy fire from their guns, together with a sharp musketry fusillade ; against the latter, our men were well sheltered, but against the former, the thin walls of the houses they occupied were but of slight protection. This cannonade cut up our troops dreadfully : several houses were knocked down and others set fire to by the shells. However, we continued to occupy them despite our losses, and the steady and well directed fire against the Russian infantry caused them to discontinue their fusillade, and the accuracy of our fire into the embrasures of the enemy's batteries silenced many of their guns and must have caused them numerous casualties among their artillerymen ; but the enemy placed several of their ships of war so that their guns could be brought to bear upon the ground our troops had acquired, and the heavy shot and shell which pitched perpetually among them cost us many valuable lives. Of course against this, our men were helpless. General Eyre could not attempt any further advance until he knew of the success of the attack on the Malakoff and Redan ; indeed, as it was, he had exceeded his orders, as it had only been the intention of Lord Raglan that a demonstration should be made to occupy the attention of the enemy at this part of their defences, during the grand

assaults from the English and French trenches ; and in the event of these assaults being successful, General Eyre was then to convert his feint attack into a real one. He was not aware of the checks with which our efforts had been met, till about 9 A.M. ; he then sent an officer to inform Lord Raglan of his position, and begged to know what he was to do. Lord Raglan immediately communicated with General Péliissier, and after explaining to him what had taken place, said that, as the new ground now occupied by our troops was of far more importance to the French old Attack than to the English Left he hoped that he would take it off his hands and occupy it with French troops. General Péliissier at once saw the importance of keeping possession at any rate of a portion of the acquired ground, and agreed to occupy it with some of his troops, if his General of Engineers, upon examining the ground, found it practicable. He then gave directions to General Niel to send an officer to examine the ground. Upon this, Lord Raglan despatched an officer with this information to General Eyre, but at the same time, ordered him to retire if not relieved by the French at nightfall.

Throughout the day, the troops had to continue under, at times, a most galling fire from the enemy's batteries and from the ships, which fired up the Man-of-War Creek from the Great Harbour, which

caused us very severe loss both in officers and men. General Eyre was himself during the morning severely wounded on the head, but with great resolution and courage continued to command the troops till 5 P.M.; when feeling the effects of his wound, he resigned to the next senior officer, Colonel Adams (28th regiment). During the afternoon, a French officer of engineers visited the ground, and said it was of importance that it should be held by the allies, and told General Eyre that a considerable body of French troops should be sent to relieve the English immediately. Nevertheless, no relief ever arrived, and therefore at nightfall, in compliance with the order of Lord Raglan, Colonel Adams gave directions for the troops to retire: leaving only a strong picket in the cemetery, so that the ground might be re-occupied, if thought advisable, the following morning. The retreat was made without molestation from the enemy, and in such order and regularity that they were able to carry to the rear all our wounded, many of whom it had not been possible to remove during the day. The loss of this column, like those on the Redan, was very severe: no less than 31 officers and 531 men being killed and wounded.

Thus concluded the operations of this eventful day. Much of it we must look upon with regret and sorrow;—with regret, that our efforts were un-

availing; with sorrow, for the noble lives that were lost. But our honour remains untarnished: England may still be proud of her soldiers: officers and men, from the first general to the last joined recruit, alike showed their bravery and devotion to their country. You will have observed that, with one or two exceptions, I have not mentioned in my account the names of officers who distinguished themselves. Where all behaved so gallantly it might seem invidious to select some for commendation, but I understand the following have been recommended to Lord Raglan by the different generals as being *particularly* deserving of his notice:—Colonels: Tylden, R.E. (very severely wounded), Gordon, R.E., Chapman, R.E., Cobb, 4th regiment (wounded), Lord West, 21st regiment, Lysons, 23rd regiment (wounded), Johnstone, 33rd regiment (wounded); Captains: Jesse, R.E. (killed), Forman, Rifle Brigade (killed); Lieutenants: Graves, R.E. (killed), Murray, R.E. (killed), Boileau, Rifle Brigade (severely wounded). Of the Naval Brigade: Captain Peel (severely wounded); Lieutenants: Kidd (killed), Cave (wounded), Urmston (wounded), Dalyell (wounded); Midshipmen: Wood (wounded), Parsons (wounded), Kennedy, and Daniel.

This day (19th), the melancholy task of collecting and burying the dead has been taking place. I have just returned from seeing the suspension of

arms, which was demanded this morning by a flag of truce by the allied generals from the Russians. It did not begin until 2 P.M. this day, when parties from both sides moved out of the advanced works and commenced their sad duty. For some hours previous, no firing had gone on : all seemed impressed with the loss which had been occasioned yesterday. I have described so often the horrors of a battle-field that I will spare you the infliction now : the wounds were perhaps more horrible than before, from the amount of grape-shot that had been used by the enemy in repelling the advance of the troops. I believe only 2 or 3 English wounded were found, the others having been withdrawn during the night. Our allies, whose attack was so much more extended, found great numbers of their poor countrymen, who had been struck down so near the enemy's works that they could not be carried off. Who shall describe the protracted agony and suffering many of these brave men endured, during the long thirty hours from the time of their receiving their wounds ! Perhaps I was most struck by the mangled remains of those two noble officers, Sir John Campbell and Colonel Yea, which lay further advanced than any other red coats, close under the abattis of the Redan !

As before, I got into conversation with some Russian officers : they all appeared more cold and

reserved in their manner than on former occasions, and seemed, I thought, more melancholy than either the English or French. One young Russian cadet, with whom I was talking, in reply to a remark of mine as to our losses, said, with great bitterness of manner, and a voice choked with emotion, "Losses! You do not know what the word means! You should see our batteries; the dead lie there in heaps and heaps! Troops cannot live under such a fire of hell as you poured upon us!" In fact, I am more convinced than ever, that, had the assault taken place at 6 yesterday morning, after three hours cannonade and bombardment, Sevastopol would now be in the hands of the allies.

It is impossible for me to give you accurately, either our own or the French losses, as the return at present has not been made out; but I fear the English approximate near 1500, and those of our allies to between 3 and 4,000.

I regret to say that the allied fleets have also had some losses in the last two nights' attacks against the sea-defences of the town; Captain Lyons of H.M.S. 'Miranda,' was severely wounded on the night of the 17th, by the bursting of a shell. He has been sent down to the naval hospital at Therapia for recovery. In consequence of the non-success of our assault on the Malakoff and Redan, the attack on Mackenzie's Heights by the force

under General Bosquet's command did not take place, but on the morning of the 17th, the Turkish and Sardinian troops under Omer Pasha and General La Marmora crossed the Tchernaya, and now occupy a position on the high ground in front of Tcherngoun. The enemy have not attempted to molest them.

Head-quarters, before Sevastopol,
June 23rd, 1855.

We are beginning to recover a little from the "bitter pill" we had to swallow on Monday last (18th), but still every one is more or less out of spirits. Lord Raglan is perhaps the most cheerful of any one, considering how much he has had lately to worry and annoy him: but at the same time, I fear that it has affected his health: he looks far from well, and has grown very much aged latterly. Added to our other misfortunes, several of our best generals are incapacitated from ill-health, and are obliged temporarily to resign their commands. Sir George Brown and General Codrington have gone on board ship at Kamiesch sick; General Estcourt has been dangerously ill during the last two days at Head-quarters with cholera, and is even now in a very precarious state; General Pennefather has been

so ill with dysentery, that the medical men have ordered him to leave for England immediately, as the only chance for his recovery. General Buller also was obliged to leave in consequence of fever a short time back. Generals Jones and Eyre are, as you know, both wounded, and although going on most favourably and able to carry on their respective commands, are not fit as yet to resume their more active duties. So altogether you see we are very short of general officers. General Mayran died yesterday from the effects of the dreadful wounds he received on the morning of the 18th instant.

I omitted to tell you in my last letter, that we re-occupied on the 19th instant the ground which General Eyre's column took the morning before, but which they abandoned in the evening, leaving only a picket in the cemetery. On the morning of the 19th, the engineer officer of the Left attack, whose duty it was to report every morning any fresh circumstance or movement on the part of the enemy, that might come under his observation, remarked that the ground above alluded to was still unoccupied by the enemy. This information he instantly sent up to Head-quarters, and orders were then given by Lord Raglan that the picket should be immediately strengthened, and sentries posted across the newly acquired ground. This was all done. Lord Raglan also communicated the

circumstance to General Péliissier, and it was arranged between them, that a force of English and French troops should be sent down there in the course of the day ; instructions were given to the commanding officers of the Royal Engineers and the Corps du Génie, to erect such works as might be thought desirable, both to strengthen the ground, and connect it with the English and French trenches on both sides of the ravine. Accordingly, the same evening (19th), a strong force of English and French were sent down there, and commenced the works ordered to be constructed ; since which time they have been completed, and now present a formidable appearance. They have, however, cost us a considerable number of men, from their nearness to some of the enemy's batteries : nevertheless, the ground is of great importance to the Allies, as indeed is proved by the jealousy with which the Russians regard our occupation of it.

For some reason with which I am unacquainted (it is said because the French Commander-in-Chief is not pleased with the arrangements of General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély on the 18th instant), General Péliissier ordered General Bosquet on the 20th instant, to take up again the command of the 2nd Corps d'Armée and the French Inkermann attack. The French troops on the Tchernaya are now under the immediate orders of General

Herbillon, and General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angély has returned to his old command of the Garde Impériale and Corps de Réserve.

As regards the siege-works, we are running forward a sap towards the Great Redan, more with the object of forming an advanced musketry-trench, than with the idea of crowning the work. The French are also making two other saps from the Mamelon and the trenches to its right, towards the Malakoff and Little Redan. They are also working nearer to the Bastion du Mât and the Bastion Centrale in their old Attack. Our engineers say that it will be at least three weeks before these saps and the works connected with them, will be completed. The Russians appear also to be employing themselves strengthening their line of defence: it is said they have commenced the erection of a Star Fort in the Karabelnaia suburb, which, when finished, is completely to command the Redan and Malakoff. This, however, appears to be a work of such magnitude, and requiring such a quantity of material and labour, that I doubt the truth of the report.

Very little firing has been going on from the guns on either side since the flag of truce on the 19th, but our daily losses are still considerable, from the nearness of our trenches to the enemy's works, and the rattle of musketry never ceases day or night. Our allies suffer severely from the occu-

pation of the Mamelon, as the Russians at intervals throw into it salvoes of heavy shells from some large mortars in rear of the Malakoff.

The last few days we have had a great number of deserters from Sevastopol, who one and all declare that, had we assaulted the town again on the 18th, it would have fallen an easy conquest into our hands. Their troops were so disheartened by the heavy losses they met with from the cannonade opened by us on them immediately after the assault, when their masses of infantry were collected in heavy columns in rear of the Redan and Malakoff. They also tell us that immense numbers of men ran down to the water's edge during this heavy fire, and such was their panic, that they actually fought for the possession of boats and rafts, &c. (which were there for the removal of the wounded), in order that they might cross over to the north side of the harbour. However, they say that Prince Gortschakoff, in order to check this feeling as much as possible, has relieved the greater part of the garrison with fresh troops on the north side, and that on the arrival of reinforcements, the entire garrison will be changed. Their accounts of their losses on the 18th of June vary considerably; some say five, others ten thousand.*

* According to Prince Gortschakoff's despatch, as published in the

The casualties of the Allies are as follows :—

			Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
English *	{ Officers	.. ..	22	78	
	{ Men	.. ..	244	1209	
			<u>266</u>	<u>1287</u>	— 1553
French †	{ Officers	.. ..	37	96	
	{ Men	.. ..	1274	1644	
			<u>1311</u>	<u>1740</u>	— 3051

Total of the Allies killed and wounded .. 4604

* This includes the casualties in the Naval Brigade.

† The French had also 17 officers and 270 men made prisoners.

Head-quarters, before Sevastopol,
June 26th, 1855.

I have nothing to tell you but misfortunes, but we cannot always have what we wish. On the evening of the 23rd a tremendous thunderstorm came on, without any notice, accompanied by torrents of rain. It only lasted an hour, but in that time did much damage. Several huts were carried

in the 'Invalide Russe,' the losses of the garrison of Sevastopol during the 17th and 18th June were as follows :—

			Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	.. ..	..	16	153
Men	.. ..	..	781	4826
			<u>797</u>	<u>4979</u>
Total	.. ..	..
Casualties	..		5776	

away, and the men in them only escaped by a miracle. One of our largest cavalry stables, near the village of Kadakoi, was completely ruined, and some of the horses in it were drowned. Five English soldiers are known to have been drowned, and one who is missing is supposed to have shared the same fate. Three of these men, who were conducting waggons of ammunition to the trenches, were carried away by a torrent in a ravine not far from Head-quarters; the other two were drowned at Balaklava. They were hospital orderlies, and were carried away by a torrent near the head of the harbour. I also was put to some inconvenience, for the water soaked through the mud walls of my abode, and from the floor being sunk below the surface of the ground outside, in a few minutes I had it six inches deep in water. The storm ceased as suddenly as it had begun, and the night was magnificent. Our batteries and trenches were a good deal injured at places, and in more than one instance, a portion of the parapets had to be cut through to allow the accumulation of water to escape. The railway also suffered considerably, and in places was much damaged. Since the storm, strong fatigue parties have been perpetually employed in restoring our various works to their proper state.

The storm had a bad effect upon poor General

Estcourt, and from that time he began to sink. His death on the following morning (Sunday, 24th instant) has thrown a gloom over all. He was buried yesterday morning early, in the little cemetery at the end of the vineyard at Head-quarters, and all connected with the General Staff attended, to show their last respect to one who was beloved by all who knew him. He had been nursed through his painful illness, and his last hours soothed, by the tender care of his wife and sister, who some little time ago came up from Constantinople to pay him a visit. The night before his death, Lord Raglan, although himself far from well, from an attack of dysentery, went to take leave of the poor general, who was an old and dear friend of his. His death has been a great shock to him. He had intended to have been present at his funeral, and got up for that purpose, but he found the trial too much for him, and for the first time his wonted composure left him, and he was quite overcome with grief. In the afternoon, after the burial, Lord Raglan went and visited the grave. It is not for me to speak of the many high qualities of General Estcourt; suffice it to say, that he secured the respect of all by the conscientious discharge of his duties, and was equally remarkable for his coolness and courage in action, as for his assiduity in the business of his department. Those who had the advantage of

knowing him in private life, will ever cherish his memory with affection, and remember with respect one of the kindest and most amiable of men.

I understand that Lord Raglan has recommended Colonel Pakenham to the Minister of War, to be the new Adjutant-General to this army. Colonel Pakenham has been acting under General Estcourt since the commencement of the war.*

Death has also claimed another victim; one who

* It may not be out of place to give here Lord Raglan's despatch on this subject, more especially as it was the last official communication written by him:—

“Before Sevastopol, June 26th, 1855.

“MY LORD,—I am much concerned to have to announce to you the death of Major-General Estcourt, Adjutant-General of this army, which took place yesterday morning at nine o'clock, after an illness of little more than three days. He died of cholera; and I deeply lament the loss of so estimable a man, and of an officer so anxious to perform his duty. I beg strongly to recommend that Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable W. L. Pakenham may be placed at the head of the Adjutant-General's department. He has done the duty of Deputy Adjutant-General since the army was formed; he is an excellent man of business, and well acquainted with the service in all its branches; and his appointment would not alone be agreeable to me, but would be equally so to General Simpson, who entertains a very high opinion of his qualifications, and reposes every confidence in him. I have reported the death of General Estcourt to the General Commanding-in-Chief, and have mentioned to his lordship my recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable W. L. Pakenham.

“I have, &c.

“The Lord Panmure.

“RAGLAN.”

is much regretted in the English fleet, as among the most rising officers in Her Majesty's navy. Captain Lyons, of the "Miranda," who, as you may remember, was wounded on the night of the 17th instant off Sevastopol, died in the naval hospital at Therapia on the 23rd. This has been a sad blow to his father, Sir Edmund Lyons, the more so as being wholly unexpected, for his wound, although severe, was not thought dangerous. I understand that poor Sir Edmund is completely heartbroken at his sad loss.

Head-quarters, before Sevastopol,
June 30th, 1855.

The intelligence of the dreadful calamity which has happened to the army must have reached you ere now. Lord Raglan's decease is indeed a severe and heavy blow. It is quite impossible to describe the sorrow and grief the death of our beloved Chief has caused to all and each one at the English Head-quarters. It was so awfully sudden and unexpected!—even now, we cannot realize it. When I wrote to you on the 26th instant, I told you how much Lord Raglan had felt General Estcourt's loss, and that, in fact, it had much added to his indisposition. Still, no one thought for a moment that it was anything to be alarmed about. It was on the afternoon of Tues-

day last (26th), that after writing all the morning his numerous despatches and letters, he felt so unwell that he was advised by Dr. Prendergast, his medical attendant, to lie down, which he accordingly did. He did not feel equal to appearing at his dinner-table in the evening, but the doctor's report was favourable. However, it was thought advisable that some one should sit up with him ; accordingly, two of his personal Staff relieved one another in their watch over him. On Wednesday morning (27th), Lord Raglan not being any better, it was thought necessary to telegraph to England that he was ill. Another message was again sent on the evening of that day, giving a better account. On Wednesday night, two other members of his personal Staff sat up with him, during the greater part of which he slept tranquilly. On the morning of Thursday (28th), a consultation was held upon his case by his personal medical attendant and two of the principal surgeons of the army, and they decided that a telegraphic message should be sent to England, to the effect, that Lord Raglan was *much* better. Just as the Military Secretary was going to send it off, Dr. Prendergast, who apparently did not take so sanguine a view of the case, strongly urged that it should be altered to, " Lord Raglan has passed a tranquil night, and is no worse this morning," or words to that effect. I should tell you that Dr. Prendergast was con-

stantly with his Lordship, and was unremitting in his attentions to him, sleeping, the two nights of his illness, in his clothes, in a room next to Lord Raglan's. It was not until about half-past 3 P.M. that Lord Raglan's servant went to fetch Dr. Prendergast, who had left him a few moments before, saying that he thought his Lordship worse. I understand the Doctor found him very low, and complaining of pains; however he did not anticipate any immediate danger till half-past 4 o'clock, when a sudden change came over him, and he saw he was sinking. He then sent to Colonel Steele, and said that he thought a telegraphic message to that effect should be sent home. Soon after 5 o'clock, it was generally known at Headquarters that Lord Raglan was dying, about which time he became insensible, and so continued to the last. All was over at twenty-five minutes before 9 P.M. The whole of his personal Staff were with him when he died; also his nephew, Colonel Somerset (Rifle Brigade), Generals Simpson and Airey, and Colonel Lord George Paget. The Principal Chaplain to the Forces went into his bedroom shortly before his death, and read the Service, and after, when all was over, a prayer was offered up by him, in which all most earnestly joined. Nothing could have been quieter or more peaceful than his death-bed—so calm, and without an effort. It was scarcely possible to tell the moment when his spirit fled to

rest. I need not tell you the grief of all present ; it can better be imagined than described.

By 9 o'clock, it was known to the Generals of the English army that Lord Raglan was no more, and they all immediately came up to Head-quarters to express their sorrow, and gaze once more on the features of him whom they all loved and revered. His death has created a profound sensation in the army ; now that he is gone, every one finds out what a loss they have sustained. Our Allies, especially the French, have shown great sympathy with us on this sad occasion. The Commanders-in-Chief of each army, and the Admirals of the Allied Fleets, came up to Head-quarters on the morning of the 29th instant, to take a farewell look at their late colleague. All seemed deeply impressed by the event. It was a touching sight to see these old warriors who had so often looked death in the face unmoved, shedding tears of regret over the body of our late beloved Commander. General Pelissier stood by the bedside for upwards of an hour, crying like a child.* General Canrobert also testified the most profound grief on seeing the remains of him for whom he entertains a sincere

* As another instance of the affection and respect entertained by the French Commander-in-Chief for the late Lord Raglan, it may be stated, that General Pelissier placed on the coffin enclosing the remains a wreath of *immortelles*, requesting it might never be removed. It is needless to add that this desire was fulfilled.

affection. It has since been decided, in compliance with the wish of the late Field-Marshal's relatives, that his body shall be taken home to England for interment. It is to be removed on Tuesday next (July 3rd) to Kazatch Bay, and from there conveyed in the "Caradoc" steamer (Commander Derriman) to England, and will be accompanied home by the five Aides-de-Camp and the Doctor. You will be interested to know the last General Order given to the army, by the late Lord Raglan, on the morning of the day of his death, in reference to the assault of the 18th of June :—

General Order.

28th June, 1855.

The Field-Marshal has the satisfaction of publishing to the army the following extract of a telegraphic despatch, from Lord Panmure, dated 22nd June :—

"I have Her Majesty's commands to express her grief that so much bravery should not have been rewarded with merited success ; and to assure her brave troops that her Majesty's confidence in them is entire."

I also enclose you the announcement to the army of Lord Raglan's death, by General Simpson.* Sir

* "*Morning General Orders.*

" 29th June, 1855.

"No. I. It becomes my most painful duty to announce to the army the death of its beloved commander, Field-Marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B., which melancholy event took place last night about nine o'clock.

" No. II.

George Brown leaves for England this day, his health having completely given way before the accumulation of trials which he has lately had to go through, augmented by the grief he feels at the death of Lord Raglan.

Head-quarters, before Sevastopol,
July 3rd, 1855.

The same sad subject engrosses the attention of all as in my last letter. To-day, the late Field-Marshal's remains were removed from Head-quarters to Kazatch Bay, and then transferred on board H.M.S. "Caradoc" for conveyance to England. A procession was formed at Head-quarters at 4 P.M., and moved down to the harbour between a double rank of Infantry, on each side of the road. From the English to the French Head-quarters the line was formed by British troops, consisting of 50 men and 3 officers from every regiment out here—a distance of about a mile; from the French Head-quarters to Kazatch Bay by the French troops, consisting of a portion of the 1st Corps d'Armée and the Garde

"No. II. In the absence of Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown, the command of the forces devolves on me, being the next senior officer present, until further orders from England.

"No. III. Generals of Division and Heads of Departments will be pleased to conduct the respective duties as heretofore.

(Signed)

"JAMES SIMPSON.

"Lieutenant-General."

Impériale—a distance of nearly six miles. A guard of honour of the Grenadier Guards was formed up in the court-yard, opposite the principal door of the house, and presented arms as the coffin was brought out. A salute of 19 guns was fired by two field-batteries of the Royal Artillery, stationed on the hill opposite Head-quarters, when the cortège moved off. The united bands of three regiments of the Line at the same time played the “Dead March in Saul.” The escort was composed of four squadrons of British cavalry, two of which formed the advance and two the rear of the procession; two squadrons of Sardinian cavalry, eight squadrons of French cavalry, two troops of French horse artillery, and a field-battery of the English artillery. The coffin was placed on a platform fixed upon a nine-pounder gun drawn by eight horses of Captain Thomas’s troop of horse artillery; at the wheels of the gun-carriage and limber were the four Commanders-in-Chief of the allied armies, viz. General Simpson, General La Marmora, General Pélistier, and Omer Pasha. After them was led the favourite charger of the late Field-Marshal, followed by his relatives and personal Staff. Every general officer of the allied armies who was not absent on account of duty or health, joined in the procession. An immense number of officers of the British army also accompanied the mournful cortège. On the way

down, the French had placed at intervals batteries of artillery, which fired salutes as the procession passed by. They also had several of their regimental bands, which played some sacred music. Arriving at Kazatch Bay, the coffin was received at the English wharf by Admirals Bruat and Stewart, (Sir Edmund Lyons did not feel equal to attending the sad ceremony) and numbers of naval officers, both English and French. It was then placed in the launch of the "Royal Albert," which was towed by one of her large boats, and moved slowly off to H.M.S. "Caradoc" (which had been painted entirely black), while two batteries on shore boomed their last adieu of 19 guns.* The "Caradoc" immediately got under steam, and half-an-hour later started from Kazatch Bay, with the touching signal *Farewell* flying at her mast-head.

I have thus endeavoured to give you some idea of the last honours paid by the allied armies in the Crimea, to the mortal remains of "one of England's noblest sons," and although Lord Raglan is no more, his spirit still remains to animate and cheer us

* A curious circumstance was remarked, whether by accident or design I cannot say. During the whole time the procession lasted, not a shot was fired from any of the Russian batteries, and consequently none from us. Might it not have been an act of courtesy on the part of Prince Gortschakoff to the remains of his old friend FitzRoy Somerset?

through many dangers and trials yet to be overcome. His memory will always be regarded in the army with veneration and respect, and will be held up in future ages, as a bright example of one who always regarded the honour of his country and his duty to the Queen before any consideration of self, and who devoted all the energies of his powerful mind, during a public life of more than half a century, to the fulfilment of those duties which he was called upon to discharge.

P.S. I enclose you the General Orders of the 2nd July; they contain translations of the French and Sardinian Orders on the death of Lord Raglan. That issued by General Péliissier has excited particular admiration. It is couched in the most happy terms, and is calculated to please everybody; "for it is *not unworthy of the subject*, and more cannot be said in its praise."

Morning General Order.

2nd July, 1855.

The Lieutenant-General commanding the Forces hastens to publish to the army the following telegraphic despatch, received last night from the Minister for War, dated 30th June:—

"I conveyed your sad intelligence to the Queen. Her Majesty received it with profound grief. Inform the army that Her Majesty has learnt, with the

deepest sorrow, this great misfortune which has befallen the army in the loss of its late distinguished Commander-in-Chief.

“The country has been deprived of a brave and accomplished soldier, a true and devoted patriot, and an honourable and disinterested subject.”

General After-Order.

2nd July, 1855.

The Lieutenant-General commanding the Forces has the satisfaction of publishing to the troops the following translation of a General Order issued by General Pélissier, Commander-in-Chief of the French army, on the occasion of the death of the late Field-Marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B. :—

(TRANSLATION.)

“Army of the East.—No. 15, General Order.

“Death has suddenly taken away while in full exercise of his command the Field-Marshal Lord Raglan, and has plunged the British in mourning.

“We all share the regret of our brave Allies. Those who knew Lord Raglan, who know the history of his life—so noble, so pure, so replete with service rendered to his country—those who witnessed his fearless demeanour at Alma and Inkermann, who recall the calm and stoic greatness of his character throughout this rude and memorable campaign, every generous heart indeed, will deplore the loss of such a man. The sentiments here expressed by the General-in-chief are those of the whole army. He has

himself been cruelly struck by this unlooked-for blow.

"The public grief only increases his sorrow at being for ever separated from a companion-in-arms whose genial spirit he loved, whose virtues he admired, and from whom he has always received the most loyal and hearty co-operation.

"(Signed) A. PÉLISSIER,

"Commander-in-Chief.

"Head-quarters, before Sevastopol,

"29th June, 1855."

"By order,

"(Signed) E. DE MARTIMPREY,

"Lieut.-Gen., Chief of the Staff."

It is also gratifying to the Lieutenant-General to publish the following translation of a General Order issued by General La Marmora, Commander-in-Chief of the Sardinian army in the Crimea:—

(TRANSLATION.)

"Head-quarters, Sardinian Army, Kadikoi,

"June 29, 1855.

"*Order of the Day.*

"Soldiers.—Yesterday, after a short illness, died Field-Marshal Lord Raglan, the illustrious Commander-in-Chief of the English army here. His long career, the important services he has rendered his country, his heroic courage, and the exemplary constancy with which, together with his army, he endured the hard trials and privations of a winter campaign, have made his loss a great calamity. He

esteemed highly this our King's army, and did much to minister to its wants; let us unite therefore with our brave Allies in deploring his death, and venerating his memory.

“ (Signed) LA MARMORA,
“ Commanding-in-Chief.”

It will afford satisfaction to the army to be informed of the sympathy of our Allies in the heavy loss we have sustained by the death of our great Commander.

By order,
(Signed) W. L. PAKENHAM,
Lieut.-Col., Assist. Adj.-Gen.

[NOTE.—Circumstances over which the author had no control, compelled his return to England shortly after Lord Raglan's death, and ill-health prevented his return to the Crimea in time to witness any of the closing scenes of the war. But for the interest of the reader, the principal features of the remainder of the campaign in the Crimea, are briefly sketched in the form of a narrative, details being omitted as much as possible. Much of the following is taken from letters to the author from friends in the Crimea, who, from the position they occupied on the Staff and elsewhere, may be depended upon as affording accurate information.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

General Simpson is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in the East — Cholera — Deaths of Colonel Vico and Mr. Calvert — Changes in the Divisional Commands — General Canrobert is recalled to France — Progress of the siege — Battle of the Tchernaya, August 16th — Position of the Allies — Russian plan — Fatal error of General Read — His death — Russians twice attack the French in great force — They are finally driven back — Gallant conduct of the Sardinians — Death of General Montecchio — Orderly retreat of the Russians — Losses in the battle — English medical department — Acting-Assistant-Surgeon Bakewell — Russian reinforcements — English open fire on the 17th — French do not support them — Bridge of boats across the harbour — Explosion in the Mamelon — Council of War on September 3rd — Arrangements for the final assault — The English and French batteries open on September 5th — Burning of two Russian frigates — French assault and take the Malakoff, September 8th — They penetrate the Curtain and Little Redan, but are speedily driven out — Unsuccessful attack of the English on the Redan — Gallant conduct of Colonel Windham — French attack the Bastion Centrale, but are immediately repulsed with great loss — Russians try to retake the Malakoff, but fail — The Redan, Garden, and Bastion du Mât Batteries blow up — Evacuation of Sevastopol by the Russians — Destruction of the Black Sea fleet — Russian wounded — Total losses — English and French Commission — Naval Brigade disbanded — English and French cavalry at Eupatoria — Expedition to Kinburn — Its capture and occupation — Resignation of General Sir James Simpson — General Sir William Codrington succeeds him in the chief command — Russian works destroyed — Reflections — Dreadful state of the French army — Negotiations — Peace signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.

ON the evening of the 1st of July, a telegraphic message arrived from Lord Panmure, at the Eng-

lish Head-quarters, announcing to General Simpson that he was to continue in command of the army; but it was not until the 21st that he received the official notification of the fact: Upon this, General Simpson issued an Order to the army, which, from its simple language and modest expression, deserves to be recorded:—

“ General After-Order.

“ 21st July, 1855.

“ Lieutenant-General Simpson announces to the army that he has had the honour to receive from Her Majesty the Queen the appointment of Commander-in-Chief of the army in the Crimea. The Lieutenant-General, though deeply impressed with the responsibilities of the position in which he is placed, is most proud of the high and distinguished honour, and of the confidence thus reposed in him by his Sovereign.

“ It will be the Lieutenant-General’s duty to endeavour to follow in the steps of his great predecessor, and he feels confident of the support of the Generals and of the officers and soldiers in maintaining unimpaired the honour and discipline of this noble army.

(Signed)

“ JAMES SIMPSON,

“ Lieutenant-General Commanding.”

Another General Order, published about that time by the new English Commander-in-Chief, is well worthy of notice, as expressing Her Majesty’s sentiments on receiving the intelligence of the death of the late Lord Raglan. It was as follows:—

" General After-Order.

" 18th July, 1855.

" Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to command me to express to the army Her Majesty's deep and heartfelt grief at the loss of our gallant and excellent commander Lord Raglan, which has cast a gloom over the whole service.

" Her Majesty further desires to assure her army of her earnest hope and confident trust that all will continue to do their duty, as they have hitherto so nobly done; and that Her Majesty will ever be as proud of her army as she has been, though their brave chief, who has so often led them to victory and glory, has been taken from them.

(Signed)

" J. SIMPSON,

" Lieutenant-General Commanding."

During the month of July, the cholera still continued in the allied camps, though, apparently, the epidemic was of a lighter character than before, as the ratio of deaths to the admissions into hospital for treatment, was not above half what it had been in the same month of 1854. The English Headquarters seemed to have a sort of fatality connected with it, for on the 10th and 11th of July, two more victims were added to those who had lately fallen before this fearful scourge. They were Lieut.-Colonel Vico, French Commissioner attached to the English Headquarters, and Mr. Calvert, head of the Intelligence Department, or Secret Service of the army. Both were much liked by all the officers

who associated with them—both were a great loss to the army. Colonel Vico had been indefatigable in his duties in keeping up the perpetual communications held between the English and French Headquarters ever since the 19th of September, 1854, when the first French Commissioner attached to Lord Raglan's Staff, was taken prisoner near the Bulganak River. Lord Raglan had the highest opinion of him, and had more than once brought him before the notice of the English Minister-of-War, for the valuable assistance he had given him on every occasion. Mr. Calvert also had rendered many important services. He had formed a corps of guides, consisting mostly of Tartar chiefs, and had also established communications with the principal towns in the Crimea. Much valuable information was obtained through his judicious arrangements, and latterly no body of troops of the enemy's army could move, or even shift their camps, without intelligence of the fact being immediately transmitted to the English Head-quarters. His loss was one not easily replaced.

About this time, two important changes took place in the English forces in the East ; viz., Sir Stephen Lushington, who had been lately promoted to the rank of Admiral and K.C.B., being relieved from his command of the naval brigade engaged in the siege operations ; and the Commissary-General

of the army, Mr. Filder, being obliged to relinquish his important post in consequence of his ill-health, which rendered it desirable that he should return to England. The former was succeeded by Captain Hon. Henry Keppel, R.N., and the latter by Commissary-General Sir George Maclean.

Towards the close of the month, General Canrobert was recalled to France by the Emperor Napoleon, chiefly, it was supposed, on account of his great popularity with the French troops, while General Péliissier was more disliked than ever, since the failure on the 18th of June; and it was thought beneficial to the service that the former should leave the Crimea, so that no comparisons should be made between him and his Commander-in-Chief.

Early in August, Lieut.-General Sir Richard England was obliged to resign the command of the 3rd Division, which he had held since the first formation of the army of the East. His health had for some time before been giving way, and although most anxious to remain until the termination of the siege, his medical attendants considered it dangerous for him to continue longer in the Crimea. He, therefore, most reluctantly gave way to their advice, and started for England shortly after. He was succeeded by Lieut.-General Sir William Eyre, who had lately, with the other Generals of the army,

been promoted and decorated. About this time Lieut.-General Markham arrived in the Crimea from India, from whence he had been ordered by the English Government. He was placed in command of the 2nd Division, as successor to Lieut.-General Sir John Pennefather.

During the month of July, nothing of importance occurred connected with the siege. Slow progress was made by the English towards the Redan ; their advanced batteries were more heavily armed, the parapets strengthened and improved, and the trenches in everyway rendered more capable of containing bodies of troops, under cover from the enemy's fire. The French also continued to approach the salient points of the enemy's line of defence. A parallel, with advanced trenches and numerous approaches from their old works, was made in front of the Mamelon against the Malakoff, and also against the Little Redan. Their trenches on the extreme right were much extended, from what had been the Ouvrages Blancs, towards the battery next the harbour of Sevastopol, which commanded Careening Bay. On the left also the French continued to advance their siege-works ; the salient angle of the Bastion du Mât was almost touched by the head of their sap. Another was made towards the Bastion Centrale, and by the beginning of August was within a few yards of the ditch in front of it. They greatly

improved their trenches on the extreme left opposite the works of the Quarantine, and erected new batteries to subdue their fire.

During the whole of this time, the losses of the Allies were very great, indeed probably greater than those incurred by the garrison of Sevastopol; for although but few heavy guns were fired on either side, the discharge of small arms was incessant. The French admitted at this period, a daily loss of upwards of 100 men in the Mamelon alone, and their casualties amounted to no less than from 1200 to 1500 weekly, while, during the same interval of time, the English suffered in their small attacks a loss of upwards of 250 men. Certainly, some of these were caused by the numerous sorties made almost nightly by the garrison; but they rarely came out in large force, as from the trenches of the Allies being by this time so close to the works of the town, no body of troops could leave them, without being instantly discovered by the men on duty in the advanced parallels of the Allies. From their small numbers, they rarely effected any serious damage, and always lost a number of men when compelled to retire before the fire of the guards of the trenches.

This state of things continued until the middle of August, when the Russians, who for a long time had been preparing for the purpose, made a desperate attack on the rear of the allied position, which

they confidently hoped would be successful, and thus compel the French and English commanders to raise the siege. The plan of attack arranged by Prince Gortschakoff showed the same cleverness as that of the battle of Inkermann by Prince Menschikoff; but, like it, failed in execution.

Before entering into the Russian plans, it may be as well to state the position occupied by the Allies. Three Divisions of French infantry, those of Generals Herbillon, Camou, and Faucheux,* together with three batteries of Artillery, occupied the Fedoukine Heights; these are some high ground situated on the left bank of the Tchernaya River, extending from the base of the plateau before Sevastopol to Tractir Bridge, and, in point of fact, separating the valley of Balaklava and the Tchernaya river. Further on, still on the left bank of the river, is some high ground, extending from near Tractir to opposite the village of Tchorgoun, known as Mount Hasfort. Here it was that the greater portion of the Sardinian army was posted, consisting

* General Camou's division had been sent down to the Tchernaya a day or two after the taking of the Mamelon Vert, in which it had suffered so severely, and that of General Faucheux (who had succeeded on the death of General Mayran to the command of the division) had also been sent down shortly after the attack on the 18th of June, on which occasion it was almost cut to pieces. Consequently these two divisions were of small numerical strength.

of about 12,000 men and four batteries of artillery. Beyond them again were a portion of the Turkish troops, besides a large body of them being in reserve in rear of the Sardinian position. In the valley of Baidar, was also stationed a mixed force of French and English cavalry and Turkish infantry, under General d'Allonville. The French had in reserve four regiments of Chasseurs d'Afrique and five troops of horse artillery, under the command of General Morris, stationed in rear of the Fediukine heights. The larger portion of the English cavalry, under the command of Lieut.-General Hon. Sir James Scarlett, still occupied the valleys of Kadakoi and Karani. These were brought up in reserve during the course of the battle, but took no active part in the engagement. The French force *engaged* consisted only of the three divisions of infantry placed on the Fediukine heights, amounting to about 18,000 men and 42 guns. The Sardinian force engaged consisted only of one division of infantry, about 6000 men, and 18 guns.

The Russian force was divided into two portions, the right wing under command of Aide-de-Camp General Read, consisting of the 7th and 12th Divisions of infantry; and the left under Lieut.-General Liprandi, consisting of the 5th and 17th Divisions. Two other divisions of infantry were held in reserve, as was a large mass of cavalry; but

these, from the nature of the ground, did not take any part in the battle. Their artillery consisted of 160 guns, the greater portion of which were brought into action. The Russians had in all 60,000 men, but of these not above 35,000 were engaged with the Allies.

It would appear that the object of the enemy was in the first instance to drive in the Sardinian outposts on the heights above Tchorgoun, on the right bank of the river, and then, establishing there a portion of their powerful artillery, to open on the Hasfort heights opposite; under cover of these guns, General Liprandi's corps was then to advance down the valley of Schouliou, and, passing through Tchorgoun, attack the Sardinian position. General Read's corps was at the same time to advance from the foot of the Mackenzie Farm heights towards the Fediukine heights, but they were not to attack until the Sardinian position was carried. Had this plan been carried out, and the Sardinian troops driven from the Hasfort heights, the enemy would then have gained a position which completely commanded the French camp on the Fediukine heights, and would have compelled them to withdraw from that ground. What further movements the Russians would have made, of course it is impossible to say; but had their object been so far attained, they would at any rate have cut off the allied troops in the

valley of Baidar, from the main body of the armies on the plateau before Sevastopol. It has also been stated that, in the event of the Russian attack being successful, a sortie on an enormous scale would have been made from Sevastopol on the allied trenches. It is said that 40,000 men of the garrison were told off for this purpose.

It was on the evening of the 15th of August, that General Herbillon (who, as senior officer, had command of the French troops by the Tchernaya), received a despatch from General d'Allonville in the valley of Baidar, informing him that the Russian troops in that neighbourhood had been marching the whole day in the direction of the Mackenzie Farm heights. However, General Herbillon does not appear to have been alarmed by this information, though he communicated it to General La Marmora, who thought it of so much importance that he kept the greater portion of his force under arms throughout the night. It should be stated that, for some time before, an attack by the enemy had been expected on a portion of the rear of the allied position. So much was this the case, that (in consequence of a report made by spies in the French service on the 12th instant, that an attack was to be made on the following day) all the troops along the Tchernaya were got under arms before daylight on the 13th; but finding that no movement was

made by the Russians, the allied Generals considered that they had been falsely informed, and consequently perhaps relaxed some of their previous vigilance.

During the whole of the night of the 15th, the Russian masses moved down from the Mackenzie Farm heights to the stations appointed to them, and at the first break of day on the morning of the 16th of August, the Sardinian outposts were driven in from off the heights on the right side of the Tchernaya, and had to retire over the river to their supports. This movement was favoured by a thick mist which hung over the low ground in the neighbourhood of the Tchernaya, and directly the firing commenced added not a little to its density. Simultaneously with the above, the main portion of the corps of General Liprandi pushed rapidly down the valley of Schouliou, and advanced on the village of Tchorgoun, taking by surprise the Sardinian picket, some few of whom were made prisoners. Immediately on the Sardinian outposts being driven in, the Russians placed their artillery on the commanding ground they had just taken, and opened fire upon the heights of Hasfort opposite. In the mean time, the remainder of General Liprandi's corps had assembled behind the village of Tchorgoun, and only waited for an order from Prince Gortschakoff to advance. General Read's corps was formed up

in order of battle just out of gunshot of the Fediukine heights, and a large number of guns were placed in advance of the troops on the most advantageous ground available. These opened at the break of day; and the first intimation the French received of the near neighbourhood of the enemy, was their having round-shot come bounding through their camp. All was hurry and confusion; the troops were, however, instantly turned out and got under arms.

The Russian Commander-in-Chief had stationed himself on the captured heights with his artillery, and from there made a careful reconnaissance of the Allied position. From Prince Gortschakoff's account, it would appear that he had just decided to order the advance of the troops under General Liprandi, when he was startled by hearing a violent platoon firing from his right wing under General Read. In fact, he had attacked the Fediukine heights with his two divisions. Prince Gortschakoff then states, "It is impossible for me to explain the motive which determined that General (Read) to make the attack contrary to the adopted plan, without having received my orders to do so; for, very soon afterwards, he himself and the chief of his staff (Major-General de Weimarn) were killed." Thus, at the onset of the battle, the Russians appear to have made a fatal mistake.

General Herbillon had scarce got the French troops under arms, before the head of the 12th Russian Division rushed forward and captured the tête-du-pont, which had been thrown up some time before by the French to cover the bridge on the right bank of the river. The picket of infantry which occupied it, could make but feeble resistance to the numbers that came against it. They fought as long as they were able, but were finally made prisoners by the enemy. Having captured the tête-du-pont, the troops then crossed the Tchernaya in heavy masses, some moving over the stone bridge, but by far the larger portion marching through the bed of the river, which at this part was nowhere more than knee-deep.

The French by this time had brought up some of their guns and opened a heavy fire upon the enemy, but were replied to with equal vigour by the Russian artillery covering the passage of their troops. They continued their advance in good order; but, before they could actually attack the Fediukine heights, they had to surmount an obstacle far more difficult than the river; this was the aqueduct, which carried water into Sevastopol for the use of the docks, at a level of only a few feet above the bed of the Tchernaya. This aqueduct, although of but small dimensions, (being not more than 4 feet deep and 8 feet broad,) from the fact of its banks

being perfectly perpendicular, completely broke the formation of the Russian troops and caused considerable delay to the rear ranks, while those in front were scrambling up the bank on the further side, and this under a most galling fire from the French artillery. There was a bridge over this aqueduct, but, comparatively speaking, but few could cross over so narrow a space, especially as it was defended with great obstinacy by a French regiment, which had hastily been brought forward for that purpose. It, however, was forced to give way in a short time, as the enemy's numbers increased, and whole sections of men got over the aqueduct, and would consequently have taken the defenders of the bridge in flank and reverse. These obstacles being overcome, the Russians, with the greatest bravery, rushed on and endeavoured to take the western portion of the heights at the point of the bayonet. But the French infantry by this time were formed up along the crest of the hill, and poured so heavy a fire upon the advancing Russians, that it abruptly stopped their onward career. They then commenced a heavy musketry fire in answer to that of the French. This fusillade, which caused great loss on both sides, continued for upwards of half an hour, the Russians accumulating their men immediately in their rear, ready to take any opportunity for a more determined attack to gain the high ground in their front.

Immediately on the capture of the tête-du-pont, the 7th Russian Division was ordered to advance on their right, and, moving rapidly forward, crossed the Tchernaya and aqueduct somewhat lower down, and, shortly after, the 12th Division. They were met by a heavy fire from General Camou's division, which was drawn up to obstruct their further progress. Notwithstanding this, with great gallantry and determination the enemy pushed forward, though but slowly, and advanced half-way up the centre of the Fediukine heights ; but beyond that they were not able to penetrate, for the French troops at this moment were ordered to charge, and, headed by the gallant Zouaves, rushed down the hill with the utmost courage and impetuosity, literally overthrowing the advanced ranks of the Russian infantry. Some desperate fighting now ensued, but the enemy received so severe a check that they recoiled, and the French, still pressing on them, drove them back to the aqueduct. The scene of confusion was now past all description ; the little canal was regularly choked with dead, wounded, and retreating men. However, finally, the majority recrossed the aqueduct, and, as the French soldiers were prudently not allowed to follow their example, the enemy somewhat re-formed and opened a heavy musketry fire on their opponents from the other side.

Immediately after the successful charge of General Camou's division, the troops under General Faucheux were ordered to advance and do likewise, supported by a portion of General Herbillon's division. The troops moved on with great bravery, and drove the Russians back over the aqueduct. Both sides then contented themselves with pouring a heavy fire of musketry at one another. This continued for a considerable interval of time, when the Russians received a great reinforcement by the arrival of a portion of General Liprandi's corps, consisting of the 5th Division. For, upon Prince Gortschakoff seeing at the commencement of the action, the great error General Read had made by beginning his attack against the Fediukine heights before he had received orders to do so, he at once perceived the importance, indeed necessity, of supporting him, and abandoning for the present the attack against Mount Hasfort. He consequently gave orders that the 5th Division, belonging to General Liprandi's corps, should move round and support the columns of General Read. The distance was considerable, so that it was not until after the first repulse that they arrived at the scene of action. Prince Gortschakoff then ordered one brigade of the remaining division (17th) of General Liprandi's corps, to be prepared to attack the Allies about midway between the village of Tchorgoun and Tractir Bridge; in fact, to

advance up the opening into the valley of Balaklava, situated between Mount Hasfort and the most eastern Mamelon of the Fediukine heights. A fresh general attack was then organized; the portion of the 17th Division crossed the Tchernaya and aqueduct with great resolution at the place indicated, and attempted to penetrate into the valley of Balaklava; seeing this endeavour on the part of the enemy, General La Marmora sent one of his divisions to stop their progress, and General Herbillon despatched reinforcements to the portion of General Faucheux's division that protected the high ground next to Mount Hasfort, down the side of which the Sardinian troops were already advancing on the enemy. A desperate conflict here ensued, in which the Sardinians, on this the first opportunity they had had during the war, displayed the greatest courage, and fought in a manner which fully established their reputation in the allied armies as being admirable troops. They finally drove the Russians headlong back over the aqueduct, and, following them up at the point of the bayonet, compelled them to recross the Tchernaya in the greatest confusion and disorder, making some prisoners. They inflicted very serious loss on the enemy, though that they sustained themselves was, comparatively speaking, trifling. However, they met with one sad misfortune; General Montevecchio was mortally wounded

when leading on his brigade in their first advance against the Russians.

The attack made by the 7th and 12th Russian Divisions, supported by the 5th, on the Fediukine heights, had also been totally unsuccessful; the enemy, although they again recrossed the aqueduct, never got further than the base of the heights, as the French poured down upon them with irresistible fury, which completely stopped their further advance. The same dreadful scene of bloodshed and death occurred as the Russians recrossed, for the last time, the aqueduct, never stopping until they had gained the further side of the Tchernaya river. Their loss at this time was greatly augmented by the tremendous fire of artillery which was brought to bear upon them. Seven French batteries were in full play, and, added to these, there had just before arrived one of the new heavy batteries of the English Royal Artillery, which, placed on the high ground occupied by the Sardinian troops, opened with most murderous effect upon the flank of the retiring Russian columns, the shot and shell ploughing through their ranks and mowing down their men by whole sections. General Péliissier had arrived in time to witness this last repulse of the Russians by the French and Sardinian troops; he had brought up with him very large reinforcements, consisting of the divisions of Generals Levailant and Dulac, and the greater part of the Garde Impériale.

The Russian infantry, after they had retired over the Tchernaya, formed up again in order of battle, with a large force of cavalry on their right, just out of gunshot of the field-artillery of the Allies, and remained for a considerable space of time inactive, though their guns, which they still placed well to their front, kept up a heavy cannonade against the troops on the Tchernaya. They were, of course, replied to; but the duel of artillery apparently did not effect much on either side during this portion of the day. At first it was expected that the enemy intended to renew their attack; but, after waiting for upwards of two hours, they commenced their retreat towards the Mackenzie Farm heights, their rear still covered by their artillery, while their flanks were protected by the heavy masses of cavalry. General La Marmora, on seeing the retreat of the Russians, immediately pushed forward a portion of his troops, reoccupied the village of Tchorgoun, and placed his outposts and pickets on the heights above it, which they had been compelled to abandon in the morning.

Some have questioned the propriety of General Péliissier not pursuing the Russians in their retreat; but, considering the enormous weight of artillery that covered the rear of the enemy, and which, as it retreated further towards Mackenzie Farm, always got the advantage of higher ground, it is not to be wondered at that General Péliissier should not wish

to expose his troops to serious loss, only for the sake of possibly capturing a few of the enemy's guns.

About midday, the last of the Russian troops regained the plateau of Mackenzie Farm heights, and then commenced the laborious duty of collecting the wounded. The Russians, with great want of humanity, kept firing on the French fatigue parties employed in this duty, from their batteries on the edge of the heights, between Mackenzie Farm and Inkermann, which completely overlooked a portion of the plain.

Thus terminated the battle of the Tchernaya, one alike glorious to the French and Sardinians, while it was most disastrous to the Russians. From all accounts, their losses appear to have been enormous: 3 Generals killed and 7 Generals wounded; 24 officers killed and 78 wounded; 3329 men killed and 4700 wounded. Of these the French took into their ambulances, from those found lying on the field, 38 officers and 1626 men. The French lost 19 officers killed and 61 wounded; 172 men killed, 146 missing, and 1163 wounded. The Sardinians lost 65 killed and 135 wounded, officers and men. So the total losses in the battle were as follows:—

Russian casualties	8141
Allied ditto	1761
	<hr/>
	9902

It took two days for the French to bury the dead on the Tchernaya.

On the 17th, General Pélissier wrote a letter to Prince Gortschakoff, expostulating with him for allowing the Russian batteries to fire upon his men who were employed in collecting the wounded and burying the dead, and informing him that, if he wished, he might send parties to bury his own dead. This offer Prince Gortschakoff accepted, and on the following day no less than 2000 unarmed infantry, under the protection of a herd of Cossacks, came down for the purpose. Prince Gortschakoff, in his reply, stated that the Mackenzie batteries did not fire upon the burying parties, until the French sharpshooters had fired upon some of the Russians, who were endeavouring to carry off their wounded.

It was generally reported in England, after the battle of the Tchernaya, and many letters were written in the public journals to the effect, that the English surgeons did not render any assistance to the French medical department, whose field hospitals were naturally in a very crowded state, after the bloody action on the 16th of August. This was a great libel upon the English surgeons, for at the close of the engagement several of them, of their own accord, went to the scene of contest, and moreover Dr. Hall (head of the medical department) sent a number of surgeons to attend especially to the

Russian wounded. Nothing could exceed the untiring exertions of these gentlemen ; as on all similar occasions they practised their humane though dreadful task, with the greatest consideration for the sufferings of the unfortunate men they attended. The medical department, like every other branch of the service, has been at different times much abused in the English newspapers. Doubtless there have been exceptional cases ; but more than once, these have arisen through the misconduct of civilians, who have been attached temporarily to the medical staff of the army. As an instance of this, it may be mentioned that a letter appeared in the 'Times' newspaper, written from the camp on the 20th of June, describing the unprovided state of the hospitals and the want of care shown by the military surgeons to the wounded after the unfortunate repulse of the 18th of June. This letter was of so false and scandalous a nature, that a court of inquiry was ordered to investigate the matter. It was proved utterly untrue, and the man who wrote it, named Bakewell, who had been attached temporarily to the medical staff, was most properly turned out of the service.*

* The following order was issued by General Simpson on the subject:—

"General Order, 3rd August, 1855.—A letter having appeared in the 'Times' newspaper, dated Camp before Sevastopol, June 20th, containing charges of the gravest nature against medical officers

During the remainder of the month of August, the allied Generals were in constant apprehension of another attack, of even more formidable nature than the last on the Tchernaya. This was originated by information they received from spies and others, that very large reinforcements had joined the enemy on the plateau of Mackenzie—it was said, two entire divisions of Grenadiers, who had lately arrived from Russia, mustering about 24,000 men. It was therefore thought advisable to strengthen the allied position in the neighbourhood of the Tchernaya. The French accordingly constructed considerable earth-works and batteries on the Fediukine heights, and the Sardinians likewise fortified those of Hasfort. The brigade of Highlanders was sent down from the front by General Simpson, and encamped near the ruined village of Kamara, so as to support the right of the Sardinians, and also more completely to enclose the valley of Balaklava.

of this army, a court of inquiry was directed to examine into the truth of the allegations set forth in it.

“The officers composing this court, after the most minute and patient investigation into the whole of the circumstances connected with the treatment of the wounded on the 18th of June, declare that this letter is ‘calculated grossly to mislead the public, and to cast blame on those to whom praise was justly due.’ In this opinion the Commander of the Forces concurs, after a careful perusal of the evidence. It appears that Acting-Assistant-Surgeon Bakewell is the author of this letter. He is therefore informed that his further services are dispensed with, and his name is struck off the strength of the army from this date.”

As regarded the siege, after the battle of the Tchernaya it advanced slowly, but surely. A portion of the French sap against the Malakoff had at that time arrived within eighty yards of the ditch ; but it was found impossible to proceed farther until certain guns which bore upon it were silenced, as they each day destroyed the work of the previous night. For this purpose it was decided that, as some of the advanced English batteries could bring a flanking fire to bear upon these guns in the Malakoff, they should open on the 17th. Accordingly on the morning of that day the greater portion of the English batteries opened once more their guns upon the town. As the English were totally unassisted by the French, who, through some blunder, appear not to have been prepared, the Russians were enabled to concentrate their fire on the English advanced trenches, and caused us severe loss in officers and men. Two valuable officers, Hammett and Oldfield, both of whom had distinguished themselves, were killed on that day ; the former was a Commander in the Royal Navy and had charge of one of the sailors' batteries, and the latter was a Captain in the Royal Artillery. But, in spite of our losses, the object of the fire was attained, for the guns which bore on the French sap were completely silenced, and they were consequently enabled to proceed with their work during the ensuing night and following

day. Our fire was therefore considerably slackened, until it returned to its former silence.

It was not until the beginning of August, that the engineers discovered that the Russians were constructing a regular bridge across the harbour from Fort Nicholas, on the south side, to near Fort Michael, on the north. For some months previous something of the sort had been suspected, but no one imagined that so gigantic a work could have been executed in the manner it was. After the failure of the enemy on the 16th of August against the rear of the allied position, they appear to have been indefatigable in their exertions to get the bridge completed, and by the 27th, it was practicable for the passage of troops, carts, &c.

It was during the night of the 27th, that an unfortunate catastrophe occurred to the French. Their magazine in the centre of the Mamelon was blown up by a shell from the enemy : no less than 15,000 pounds of gunpowder were exploded, and upwards of 150 French soldiers were killed and wounded by it. A few English soldiers in the nearest trenches were also injured by the falling of beams, &c., which were thrown into the air. Considering the number of troops the French had in the neighbourhood of the Mamelon, it is wonderful that their loss was not greater. The English batteries immediately opened fire on the Malakoff and Redan, so as to anticipate

any sortie or attack the Russians might make, on seeing the confusion into which the French were naturally thrown by the terrific explosion. This misfortune delayed the assault of the town a few days, as the immense quantity of ammunition which had been destroyed, had to be replaced before the batteries re-opened their final bombardment. It was impossible to wait much longer; and indeed there was no object to be gained by so doing. The French had now pushed the head of their sap, so that it actually touched the abattis round the Malakoff, and they were not more than thirty paces from its ditch. Besides this, they could distinctly hear the Russian miners at work, and consequently anticipated that no great length of time would elapse before these mines would be exploded against them. The English had advanced their trenches as far as practicable towards the Redan: they were now 196 yards from its salient angle; closer than that it was impossible to go for two reasons—first, that in any nearer approach they would have been completely enfiladed by the fire from the Malakoff; secondly, that the rocky nature of the ground made it a work of the greatest difficulty, if not impossibility. Besides these reasons, the Russians had commenced the construction of a more complete inner line of defence, and had already placed a certain number of guns in their new works, so that altogether it was decided

that a speedy assault was imperative.* Accordingly, on the 3rd of September, a grand Council of War of the Allied Generals was held at the French head-quarters to decide upon the final plan of attack on Sevastopol. On this occasion, unlike any former, Generals Bosquet and Niel were most anxious for the assault to take place immediately; whereas the French Commander-in-Chief appeared rather to dread the responsibility, and wished to delay it for a few days, until the arrival of a large number of mortars and a quantity of ammunition which were shortly expected from France. It should be mentioned that the French ammunition was so exhausted that they had only sufficient for five days' *slow* firing. The English were better off; they had sufficient for ten days' *quick* firing in their batteries and artillery parks.

The arrangements for the assault were as follows:—from the French left attack, there were to be two objects of assault, the Bastion Centrale and the Bastion du Mât; the former was to be attacked by the division of General Levaillant, which, if successful, was immediately to be followed by the division

* It may be as well here to state that the English force of all arms in the Crimea on the 1st of September amounted to 48,024 rank and file and 8986 horses. Of these, the Royal Artillery employed in the siege and with the field-batteries amounted to 6778 rank and file.

of General d'Autemarre, which was to attack the Bastion du Mât on its right flank and rear. A brigade of Sardinians under General Cialdini were to be held in reserve. These two assaults were under the orders of General de Salles, commanding the 1st Corps d'Armée. The signal of assault was to be the French flag floating above the Malakoff, so that it was not to take place until that formidable work had been captured. The English assault, as before, was to take place only from the right attack ; it was to consist of one column of 1000 men to attack the salient angle of the Redan. It was to be preceded by 100 men of the Rifle Brigade and 100 men of the 3rd regiment (Bufs), to pick off the enemy's gunners, and 320 men carrying scaling ladders. These were to be taken in equal numbers from the Light and 2nd Divisions, which were to form the staple of the troops in the advanced trenches. They were to be under the command of Lieut.-General Sir William Codrington and Lieut.-General Markham. The Highland Division, under Lieut.-General Sir Colin Campbell, was to be placed in the rear trenches of the right attack in reserve (having been brought up for that purpose from their camp at Kamara). The 1st Division, under Lieut.-General Lord Rokeby, was to remain under arms in front of the English camp, in readiness to give support if required. The 3rd Division, under Major-General Sir W. Eyre, and the 4th Division, under Lieut.-General Sir H.

Bentinck, were to be placed in the left attack, to support the right if necessary. The signal of assault was to be given, when the French had gained possession of the Malakoff.

From the French Inkermann attack, there were to be three objects of attack, viz. the Malakoff, the Little Redan, and the curtain which connected them together. The left column, to attack the Malakoff, was to consist of General M'Mahon's division, having in reserve the Zouaves of the Garde Impériale and a brigade of General Camou's division, which was to be brought up for that purpose from the Tchernaya. The centre column, to attack the curtain which connected the Malakoff with the Little Redan, was to consist of the division of General La Motterouge; the right column, to attack the Little Redan, was to consist of General Dulac's division, supported by the Chasseurs of the Garde Impériale and a brigade of General d'Aurelle's division. Each column was to be accompanied by 60 sappers of the corps du Génie, 300 men with scaling ladders, &c., and also 50 artillerymen to spike the enemy's guns, or turn them as might be found necessary. The three columns of assault were to be under the direction of General Bosquet; the whole of the remainder of the Garde Impériale were to be placed in the trenches immediately in rear of the Mamelon, ready to advance to give support to General M'Mahon's division on its attack on the

Malakoff, as it was determined at any sacrifice to capture this stronghold. There was to be no signal for attack, but the assault was to take place precisely at midday. It was finally settled that the allied batteries should open fire on the morning of the 5th of September, and the grand assault take place on the 8th. It was also agreed that several ships-of-the-line of the allied fleets should engage the Quarantine Fort, by which means it was hoped that the enemy would be prevented from pouring an enfilading fire against the column of French troops which was to assault the Bastion Centrale, as a portion of the guns on the said fort swept the ground between the French trenches and the works of the town. This was to take place at twelve o'clock. Such were the arrangements made at the Council of War on the 3rd.

On the morning of the 5th, the allied batteries opened with a tremendous roar, and continued firing throughout the day. The batteries of the French left attack were ordered to fire as rapidly as possible, whereas those in the English * and French Inker-

* MORTARS.				GUNS.					TOTAL.
13-Inch.	10-Inch.	8-Inch.	5½-Inch.	Lancaster.	68-Pdr.	32-Pdr.	10-Inch.	8-Inch.	
34	27	10	20	2	6	61	7	37	204

mann attacks were to fire steadily, and reserve all their energies for the day of the assault.*

The enemy appeared completely paralysed by the severe fire poured upon them, and scarcely answered at all. Some said they were only reserving their fire and keeping their artillerymen under cover, and were waiting until the assault should arrive, when every gun would be found serviceable, and their batteries swarming with artillerymen. During the day, the enemy made a reconnaissance in the neighbourhood of Tchorgoun, and some little skirmishing went on between their advanced parties and the Sardinian outposts. The force was considerable—estimated at 15,000 men. It was probably more with a view of making the Allies fancy that they intended to attack the rear again, in the hope of thus preventing them from bringing up reinforcements from their rear, to assist during the assault on the town.

On the night of the 5th, a large Russian frigate was seen about 9 P.M. to break forth in flame, and was burnt to the water's edge by midnight. During

* The number of guns that opened from the allied batteries on the 5th of September were as follows:—Old French attack, composed of 49 batteries, containing 332 pieces; French Inkermann attack, composed of 34 batteries, containing 267 pieces. Total, 83 French Batteries, containing 599 pieces of ordnance.

English attacks, 32 batteries, containing 204 pieces of ordnance.

Grand total of the Allies, 115 batteries, containing 803 pieces of ordnance.

the whole of the 6th and 7th, the bombardment continued without intermission, the Russians replying but rarely, and then in the most feeble manner. On the afternoon of the last-named day, a Russian line-of-battle ship caught fire, and burnt fiercely all through the following night: the whole harbour and town of Sevastopol were lit up by this great conflagration. Excitement and confidence in the approaching assault were at the highest pitch in the allied camps. The burning of this ship was looked upon as an omen of disaster to the enemy. Since the commencement of the cannonade the enemy had used the bridge across the harbour night and day: thousands of carts passed over from the south to the north side loaded with things, and returned empty for more. The losses of the Russians during these days of the bombardment was something quite prodigious; it averaged from 1000 to 1500 daily.*

* According to the statement, as it appeared in the 'Invalide Russe,' the Russian losses in Sevastopol, from August 17th to September 7th, were as follows:—August 17th, 1500 men; from the 18th to the 21st, 1000 men daily = 4000 men; and from the 22nd of August to the 4th of September, from 500 to 600 men every twenty-four hours, say = 7700 men. Their loss on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of September was 4000; consequently the total number of killed and wounded in the garrison of Sevastopol, from the 17th of August to the 7th of September inclusive, was no less than 17,200 casualties, *not* including the artillerymen who perished at their guns. This statement is the admission of Prince Gortschakoff, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army.

On the evening of the 7th, the final instructions were issued by General Simpson in a long divisional After-Order to his Generals.*

The morning of the 8th of September broke gloomy enough; throughout the night the weather had been boisterous, and with the return of day this rather increased than otherwise, and the whole face of the plateau was covered with clouds of dust. Moreover, the thermometer had gone down, and the temperature after the late hot weather felt bitterly cold. Soon after 8 A.M., several squadrons of cavalry marched up to the front, and were posted in a line of videttes along the ridge in front of the English camps, to keep back camp-followers and others from collecting in groups on the heights, and thus drawing down the fire from the enemy. About the same time a number of gunboats and mortar vessels belonging to the allied fleets opened fire upon the Quarantine Fort from Streletska Bay, where they had been previously placed for that purpose. They continued throughout the day firing with great steadiness and precision, and must have caused the Russians very severe loss. The weather was so boisterous that it was quite impossible for the line-of-battle ships to attempt engaging the sea-defences of Sevastopol. It was not until past 7 A.M., (when

* Vide Appendix D.

the allied armies were under arms,) that the Light and 2nd Divisions moved down to the trenches and took up the positions assigned to them ; this took a very long time, as some of the approaches did not admit of more than two men going abreast in comparative safety. Every man carried with him two days' rations cooked, as it was thought possible that we might have to occupy a portion of the town a day or two after carrying the principal works.

About half-past ten A.M., General Simpson and the Head-quarters Staff entered the approaches of the left attack, and took up their station in the 2nd parallel to witness the assault. Lieut.-General Sir Harry Jones, commanding the Royal Engineers, was in so weak a state that he was unable to walk. He was still suffering from the effects of the wound he received on the 18th of June, and which for some time after had seriously injured his health ; but being most anxious to be present at the assault, he was carried down to the trenches on a stretcher.

General Pélissier entered the French Inkermann attack, and placed himself in the Mamelon shortly before midday. Up to near that time, the fire of artillery had been more rapid and heavier, if possible, than it had ever been before ; it then gradually ceased, as had been more or less the custom lately, in consequence of the usual intense heat at that period of the day ; and although on this occasion the

weather was cold, still it was thought that a partial cessation of the fire would be calculated to lead the enemy into the belief that no assault was to take place. These calculations appear to have been verified, for, at twelve o'clock precisely, the French rushed out of their most advanced trench in front of the Malakoff, and, in less time than it takes to describe, had reached the ditch. A moment later and the ladders were thrown across, their ends resting on each side of the ditch, thus forming a sort of bridge, and a few planks being then thrown on them made it a good crossing for any number of troops. They rushed on, and, literally within three minutes from the time of starting, the head of the column had entered the Malakoff. The enemy were completely taken by surprise ; the few behind the parapet facing the French, fired off their muskets, and never attempted to stop the progress of their invaders, but retired behind the traverses, and there began their first attempt to hold this formidable work. But it was now too late ; the French came pouring on in immense numbers, and, in a short quarter of an hour, were in possession of the key of Sevastopol.

To give an idea of how completely taken by surprise the Russians were, it may be mentioned that some of the Zouaves (who, as usual, were among the first) penetrated into a bomb-proof chamber, where they found the Russian General commanding the

Malakoff at dinner! as well as a great many officers employed in the same agreeable manner, who threw up their hands in despair on seeing the French soldiers.

Immediately the French gained possession, a strong working party of sappers commenced closing the gorge in rear of the Malakoff, and, in digging a trench across it, came upon the wires which were there for the purpose of exploding the mines from the exterior. These were, of course, instantly cut, and thus rendered the mines useless.

Simultaneous with the advance on the Malakoff, the divisions of Generals La Motterouge and Dulac rushed forward against their objects of attack, viz. the curtain and the Little Redan next to it. As at the Malakoff, the French troops, from being within thirty yards of the enemy's batteries, arrived up to them in less than a minute's time, and sprang over the parapet despite the resistance which was made to them—for here, although the Russian force was not large, they were not taken by surprise. However, the Russians speedily brought up enormous reinforcements, besides no less than twenty pieces of field-artillery, which opened on the French columns at short range with grape, and caused them enormous loss. In addition to this, all the guns in the Russian batteries on the north side that were within range, and also several of the ships and steamers in harbour, opened upon the French as soon as their object

became apparent. One French regiment (49th of the Line) was seized with a panic and retired to their trenches, from which all the exhortations of their officers would not induce them to return. The rest of the French troops who had penetrated the Little Redan, after the most gallant efforts to hold what they had gained, were compelled to retire to their trenches, thus leaving the column next to them (General La Motterouge's division) exposed to the flank fire of the Little Redan. They were, consequently, unable to continue in possession of that portion of the enemy's works which they had captured with so much bravery, and were forced to retire. General Bosquet, on seeing this, ordered up two of the batteries of field artillery which had been placed in reserve. The French had made an admirable arrangement before the assault, for the passage of gun-carriages. An opening of some fifty yards had been made in all the parapets, so that, if required, troops could be brought down in formation, as well as artillery: these were blinded by gabions, and a certain number of men were placed on each side ready to knock them over, when the opening should be required. Down this sort of road the two field-batteries came, and, on arriving close up to the defences of the town, they opened with grape upon the mass of Russian infantry which were collected together. This fire caused the enemy considerable

loss, but at the same time almost all the French artillerymen were killed or wounded at their guns.

About ten minutes after twelve, General Pélissier, seeing that General M'Mahon's division had gained thorough possession of the Malakoff, ordered the signal (that of the French flag put up in the Mamelon) to be made, and thus acquaint General Simpson with his success. The English Commander-in-Chief, upon seeing this, instantly ordered a flight of four rockets to be fired from close to his position. This was to attract the attention of the commanding officers of the columns of assault. Immediately after General Simpson put up the signal for the advance, which was a square white flag with the red cross of St. George, and directly, the English rushed over the parapets and advanced towards the Redan. The ladder and storming parties dashed on in a very gallant manner against the salient of the Redan, under a heavy fire of grape, and the foremost of them got over the ditch, up the parapet, and into the body of the work with wonderful rapidity, especially when it is considered that they had to traverse over 200 yards. But there, poor fellows! they only met with a soldier's death! Despite these difficulties, the storming parties still continued to arrive at the salient of the Redan, but numbers of officers and men were killed and wounded on their way towards it. Brigadier-General Shirley, who led the stormers of the

light division, was severely contused in the face immediately on leaving our trenches, and had to retire; Colonel Handcock and Major Welsford, 97th regiment, who had important commands, were both struck down—the former mortally wounded and the latter shot dead. Brigadier-General Van Straubenzee and Colonel Unett (19th regiment) fell also at this time, the latter mortally wounded.

The senior officer who now remained with the stormers was Colonel Windham, who was acting brigadier, and commanded the 2nd Division column of assault. He behaved throughout in the most gallant and determined manner; on arriving in the Redan, he at once saw the difficulties to be overcome. The body of the work was entirely open to the rear, and had only a sort of covered way, or light parapet, across the gorge. Behind this, those of the enemy who had been driven away, were standing firing. Large reinforcements had come up, and a mass of Russian infantry was now formed immediately in rear of this parapet. The enemy poured a most galling fire upon the salient angle, where the British troops were for the most part assembled; numbers of the poor fellows were dropping, killed or wounded, every instant. Colonel Windham at once saw that the only thing to be done was to form the men up, and take the parapet at the point of the bayonet; but the difficulty was to get the troops into any sort

of formation for that purpose. So many officers had been killed or disabled, that Colonel Windham had to depend to a great extent on his own exertions in collecting together the troops, who were standing up behind the traverses firing at the enemy ; but as fast as he got any number of men in formation, they were shot down by the terrible fire poured upon them from the Russians in rear of the parapet. Many officers most brilliantly distinguished themselves by the gallant manner in which they stood out in the open, in order to induce their men to follow ; but, among other difficulties, the men one and all believed that the Redan was mined. The English newspapers had done their best to din the fact into their ears ever since the first bombardment. This, doubtless, added to the disinclination to advance ; but the real fact of the matter was, that there were not enough men. It could hardly be expected that a mere handful would stand up in the open to be shot at, while others were being got together and formed up. There was no place available for this, except inside the work, and there, of course, they were exposed to the terrible fire of the enemy behind the often-mentioned parapet. Colonel Windham despatched no less than three officers to General Codrington, begging him to send up reinforcements *in formation* ; but none of these officers ever arrived—they were either killed or wounded. Colonel Windham, seeing that it was

hopeless waiting for reinforcements, determined at last to go himself and beg them of General Codrington. He was more fortunate than his messengers, for he arrived untouched; but before the reinforcement which he was going to bring up got out of our trenches, the few untouched men that were left in the Redan were driven out by the overwhelming mass of Russians which charged down upon them. It was then utterly useless attempting to assault the work again, without regularly reorganizing the columns, and this, from the crowded state of the trenches and from the number of wounded men being carried to the rear, was quite impossible: Accordingly, to the bitter disappointment of the British, the assault on the Redan was obliged to be given up for the time being, and General Simpson arranged with Sir Colin Campbell that the Highland Division should attack on the following morning. He then ordered the whole of the guns that could be brought to bear, to fire upon the Redan, which was accordingly done with frightful loss to the enemy.

The French fared no better than the English in their left attack. Immediately on the signal being given by General Péliissier in the Mamelon, (which, like that of the English, was the French flag hung out,) the first column to assault (General Levaillant's division) sprang out of their trenches, and advanced with great bravery towards the Bastion Centrale;

but they were met by a most overwhelming fire from the enemy's batteries, both of heavy ordnance and small arms, before they had left their trenches a dozen yards. It appeared that the enemy were expecting an assault, and consequently had their batteries manned, and immense numbers of men in reserve. So great was the loss to the French on their first onset, that reserves had immediately to be brought up, but, as in the English attack, the trenches were so crowded with troops and with the wounded being carried to the rear, that it was quite impossible to move them out in anything like formation. Generals Rivet and Breton set noble examples to their men by rushing over the parapets and calling upon the men to follow, but both were instantly killed, and, seeing this, the troops got disheartened, and nothing would induce them to leave their trenches and face the awful fire to which they would then have been exposed. The confusion now became general; from the frightful number of men that had been wounded, the advanced trenches soon became completely clogged; all the generals commanding the storming columns had been either killed or wounded, consequently no orders were given, and, after fruitless efforts to cross the ditch and enter the work, the French were finally compelled to retire and give up the assault. All their guns in the left attack then

opened on the enemy's defences. General de Salles commenced arrangements for a fresh assault, and in the mean time sent off word to General Pelissier of his failure, but the French Commander-in-Chief, having gained the Malakoff, considered that it would be a useless sacrifice of life attacking anew the Bastion Centrale or the Little Redan.

It was now about 3 P.M., and between that time and nightfall the Russians made repeated attacks upon the Malakoff, but the French were so firmly established in it, that, although the Russians brought up enormous masses of men, and attacked it with a courage amounting almost to ferocity, they were never able even to obtain a temporary footing in the great work they had lost. In fact, the very strength of the Malakoff on every side, and its admirable construction, which gave a flanking fire to each face, probably prevented the enemy from retaking it. Had the gorge been open, and its rear defences weaker than those in front, it is not improbable that the Russians might have recaptured it with their legions; as it was, all their attempts were utterly useless, and every fresh attack only added to their enormous loss of killed and wounded. After nightfall no fresh attempt was made.

During the afternoon, the French had a considerable loss from an explosion that took place near the Malakoff. It was never ascertained how this oc-

curred, and for some minutes afterwards great apprehensions were felt that it was only preliminary to the Malakoff itself being blown into the air; for, although the French had discovered, shortly after they entered the work, four wires which doubtless were connected with the mines under it, they were still not altogether sure that there might not be other wires which as yet had escaped their observation. These four wires were found out in a curious manner. When the French had captured the Malakoff, and had killed, wounded, or driven out, as they thought, the whole of the garrison, it was discovered that a strong picket of men were still inside the ruins of what had been the celebrated Malakoff Tower, the lower part of which had a passage running round inside, with the exterior wall loopholed. Through these the Russians inside fired upon the French, and killed and wounded several officers and men. As the only entrance was strongly blocked up from the inside, it was very difficult to check this fusillade; but the French engineers got some gabions, and piled them before the loopholes, and then set them on fire. This was to choke the inmates with smoke, and thus compel them to surrender. It instantly had the desired effect; for the Russians came out and gave themselves up as prisoners. However, the gabions continued to burn fiercely, so much so that the engineer

officers became alarmed lest the falling sparks might ignite one of the expense magazines which were placed at intervals in the interior parapet of the work. Orders were therefore given for them to be immediately extinguished; but this was no easy task. The sappers were then ordered to dig a trench and throw up the earth so as to put out the flames; this was done, and, while digging, they discovered two wires, which it was naturally supposed communicated with mines. They were instantly cut, and shortly after two more were discovered. This circumstance doubtless saved the Malakoff and its numerous French garrison from utter destruction by the enemy.

Soon after dark, several conflagrations burst out in the town, and it became evident that these were not done by accident or from the effects of the fire from the allied batteries, but from deliberate pre-arrangement. About 11 P.M. some Russian magazines, immediately in rear of the Little Redan, blew up, and they appeared to be only preliminary to others of a more formidable nature. About 12 o'clock, an engineer officer crept quietly up to the Redan, and entering, found it deserted. This being communicated to Sir Colin Campbell, he directed parties to go in and withdraw as many of our wounded as possible, which was immediately done. Explosions then became frequent, but it was not

until 4 A.M. on the 9th instant that the first of the magazines blew up. This was the Redan—an explosion so great that it shook the earth, and made those who had lain down in the different camps for a short interval to rest, start out of their sleep and rush to the front to ascertain what had happened, but they could only see before them the doomed city a sheet of flame. At a quarter to five A.M. another great explosion took place; this was the Bastion du Mât, and it was immediately followed by those of the Garden batteries.

As morning broke on the burning town, it was found that during the night it had been totally evacuated by the enemy, and Sevastopol at length was in the possession of the Allies. The manner in which the Russians evacuated the town did them immense credit; indeed, it may be looked upon as one of the best-executed movements during the war. Over the floating bridge, within a few days of the fall of the town, immense quantities of ammunition were carried, and during the night of the 8th from 30,000 to 40,000 human beings had passed over it in safety; so nicely timed were the Russian arrangements, that at the first gleam of day on the 9th of September the bridge was broken up, its different portions disconnected and towed over to the northern shore of the harbour, while the rear column of the Russian garrison could be seen making its

way up from the water's edge to the plateau above—a proof of how lately they must have crossed over. The first thing which attracted observation was the absence of the Russian line-of-battle ships; they had been sunk during the night.

The next great incident in this memorable day was the total destruction of Fort Paul, close to the dockyard; it blew up with a terrific roar, which shook the country all round, and when the smoke had cleared away, nothing remained of the handsomest and best constructed fort in Sevastopol but a huge heap of smouldering ruins. Frequent explosions of small mines and magazines continued to take place in the course of the day, and consequently a cordon of sentries were placed all round Sevastopol to prevent, as far as possible, the troops and stragglers from entering the town. Nevertheless, numbers managed to evade the sentries, and wandered among the burning ruins, seeking for what little plunder might remain.

The town continued to burn fiercely all through the day and night of the 9th, when, from want of ignitable matter, the fire gradually subsided, and no building in that vast city remained intact except one huge barrack near the Dockyard Creek. It was not until the afternoon of the 10th, that the reason of this was discovered, when it appeared that the enemy had used it as their great temporary

hospital, before the removal of their wounded to the north side of the harbour. No less than 2000 human beings, the majority shockingly wounded and many having undergone amputation, had been collected within the walls of this building during the 8th of September, and had been abandoned to their fate on the evacuation of the town by the Russians. It was discovered by a steamer coming across the harbour with a flag of truce, and begging to be allowed to remove their wounded. About 500 of these poor creatures were found alive (these were given over to the Russians), upwards of 1500 were corpses. Who shall describe the torture and agony these unfortunate men must have suffered, during the forty-eight hours they had been lying there? In one immense underground cellar, 700 bodies were lying in a state of rapid decomposition. Nothing could exceed the horrors of this charnel-house. Captain Vaughan, of the 90th regiment, was found amongst the dead and dying, and several English and French soldiers, who must have been glad, poor fellows! to be rescued from such a mass of putrefaction, and to find themselves cared for by friends. In another portion of the building 200 coffins were found, with a corpse in each, ready for burial; they were said to be those of officers who had fallen during the last bombardment. How they could find means or time

to encase each body in this manner is inexplicable ! Perhaps this last fact speaks better than any other of the frightful losses the enemy must have sustained.

It may be as well here to state the losses on both sides, on the memorable 8th of September. The following is taken, as regards the Russians, from Prince Gortschakoff's account, as published in the 'Invalide Russe,' but it is generally supposed to be much understated. The losses of the French and English are taken from the despatches of Generals Pélissier and Simpson: the former as published in the 'Moniteur,' and the latter in the 'London Gazette: '—

OFFICERS.				MEN.			TOTAL.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	
Russian ..	59	279	24	2,625	6,964	1,739	11,690
French ..	145	254	10	1,489	4,259	1,400	7,557
English ..	29	129	1	361	1,914	176	2,610
	233	662	35	4,475	13,137	3,315	21,857

Thus the capture of Sevastopol cost (deducting the missing) between 18,000 and 19,000 killed and wounded men, and these returns, as before mentioned—*certainly* as regards the Russians, and

probably as regards the French — are understated.*

On the 12th of September, Colonel Windham was appointed English Commandant of Sevastopol, as far as regarded the portion of the town known as the Karabelnaia ; at the same time, General Bazaine was appointed French Commandant. The 3rd regiment (Bufs) and 500 of the Royal Artillery were ordered into the town as the English garrison. They took up their quarters in the great barracks close to the Dockyard, but the enemy kept up such a perpetual shower of shells upon them from the north side, that it was deemed advisable to withdraw the troops for the time being, and simply leave strong pickets in different places near the water's edge. But in the course of a few days the Russians got less aggressive, and did not fire unless they saw numbers of men collected together, or groups of officers standing near the harbour ; they appeared chiefly to turn their attention to strengthening their position on the north side, and for this purpose very large bodies of men were employed in erecting new earthworks, and improving and reconstructing those already made.

* At the end of this volume the reader will find a return of the quantity of ordnance stores used at the siege of Sevastopol by the English. Vide Appendix E and F.

A commission of officers of the English and French armies was appointed to sit daily to apportion the immense quantities of stores which had fallen into the hands of the Allies by the capture of Sevastopol, such as guns, ammunition, anchors, and naval stores of all sorts, including a vast amount of copper sheeting, church bells, &c.*

Great was the rejoicing in England on the receipt of the intelligence announcing the fall of Sevastopol, and every place in the United Kingdom, from London to the smallest hamlet, made some demonstration in token of their joy and pleasure. The Queen directed her War Minister to express her approbation of the conduct of the British army during the whole of this memorable siege, and it was communicated to the troops in the Crimea by General Simpson in the General Orders of the 14th of September.† Promotions, decorations, and rewards were given to the successful Generals of

* The most important of the military stores were the following:—4000 pieces of ordnance, upwards of 100,000 shot and shell, and more than 420,000 pounds of powder; besides 250 new, and about the same number of old, anchors.

† *Morning General Order, 14th September, 1855.*—The Commander of the Forces has great pleasure in publishing to the troops the following telegraphic message received from the Minister-at-war:—

“London, Wednesday.

“The Queen has received with deep emotion the welcome intelligence of the fall of Sevastopol, penetrated with profound

the allied armies. General Pélissier was made a Marshal of France, and General Simpson received the Grand Cross of the Bath. Colonel Windham was made a Major-General for his distinguished gallantry at the attack on the Redan, and numerous officers were promoted and decorated.

Thus terminated the ever memorable siege of Sevastopol ; in duration, far surpassing any other of modern times ; and in material, calling forth resources never dreamt of before ; especially when compared with the sieges during the Peninsular war, in which the British arms were most conspicuous ; for although great courage and endurance were necessary in the various sieges of Badajoz, Ciudad

gratitude to the Almighty, who has vouchsafed this triumph to the allied army.

" Her Majesty has commanded me to express to yourself, and through you to her army, the pride with which she regards this fresh instance of their heroism.

" The Queen congratulates her troops on the triumphant issue of their protracted siege, and thanks them for the cheerfulness and fortitude with which they have encountered its toils, and the valour which has led to its termination.

" The Queen deeply laments that this success is not without its alloy in the heavy losses which have been sustained ; and while she rejoices in the victory, her Majesty deeply sympathises with the noble sufferers in their country's cause.

" You will be pleased to congratulate General Pélissier, in her Majesty's name, upon the brilliant success of the assault on the Malakoff, which proves the irresistible force, as well as the indomitable courage, of our brave allies.

(Signed)

" PANMURE."

Rodrigo, Burgos, and St. Sebastian, still they were all insignificant when compared with that of Sevastopol.*

On the 17th of September, the Naval Brigade was ordered to rejoin the fleet, their services being no longer required. The important duties they had performed throughout the siege, and the cheerful manner in which they had been rendered, together with the courage and bravery displayed on every occasion during nearly a year of danger and hardship, entitle them to the admiration of their countrymen, and prove that the English Navy has not degenerated during forty years of peace, and that the naval heroes of Sevastopol are worthy to be classed with those of the Nile and Trafalgar.

About the middle of September, a strong body of French light cavalry, mustering near 2000 horses, together with several battalions of infantry, the whole under the command of General d'Allonville, was transported from Kamiesch to Eupatoria, to aid the

* Vide Appendix G., where the reader will find tables, showing the number of officers and men of the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery employed at the different sieges in the Peninsular war; and also the amount of ordnance and ammunition used and expended at the same times. The tables are taken from '*Sieges in Spain*,' by Sir J. T. Jones.

30,000 Turkish troops under the command of Achmet Pasha. On the 24th and 29th of September, two slight engagements occurred between the allied (French and Turkish) troops and the Russians in the neighbourhood of Lake Sasik, but without any important result. The French cavalry distinguished themselves by a charge which they made on the enemy, in which a Russian colonel and 50 men were killed, and 150 made prisoners; they also captured a battery of artillery consisting of 6 pieces of ordnance and 12 artillery waggons, with their horses complete. The loss of the Allies was but trifling, amounting to about 40 casualties.

Early in October, Marshal Pélissier applied to the English Commander-in-Chief to reinforce the French cavalry at Eupatoria with a portion of the English. Accordingly, the light cavalry brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Lord George Paget, consisting of the 6th Dragoon Guards,* 4th and 13th Light Dragoons, and 12th Lancers, and also a

* The 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers) were under orders for India two years previous to the war with Russia, and it was then thought advisable by the Horse Guards to change them into a regiment of light cavalry, which was accordingly done, as regards their dress and accoutrements, though they still retained the appellation of Dragoon Guards, which to the uninitiated, would signify that they were still heavy cavalry.

troop of horse artillery, were landed at Eupatoria about the middle of October. They were attached to the French cavalry. The services they were called upon to perform were of an arduous though not very hazardous nature ; they consisted chiefly in tedious reconnaissances to ascertain the enemy's position and strength, but without ever being regularly engaged, although on more than one occasion a few shots were exchanged. The most important of these was made on the 27th of October, from Eupatoria, when the troops did not return until the evening of the 29th, after having lost several horses, which had died from exhaustion in consequence of the want of water, and having only ascertained the fact that the enemy had erected a few earthworks near the village of Tchobtar, behind which they were posted in considerable force. What rendered this position strong and unassailable by the Allies was, that a marsh extended for some way round the village, which was consequently only approachable at one or two places, and these the Russians had defended by heavy guns of position. The achievements at Eupatoria altogether were not such as could add fresh lustre to the allied arms. They, nevertheless, were of importance, as compelling the enemy to keep a large force to watch Eupatoria, and greatly harass them by obliging them to carry their supplies, which came in from Russia through Perekop for the Rus-

sian troops in the Crimea, by a road which ran farther from the coast than the usual one from that place to Simferopol.

On the 7th of October, an expedition of French and English set sail from Kamiesch and Kazatch Bays, for the purpose of attacking the Russian fort of Kinburn. The reason for attacking this place was, that it commanded the entrance to the estuary into which the rivers Dnieper and Bug empty themselves. Near the mouth of the former, is situated the town of Kherson, which is some 60 miles from Kinburn; and at a distance of 25 miles up the last-named river is the town of Nicholaieff, the great nursery of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea; for at this place were constructed almost the whole of the enemy's navy which perished in the harbour of Sevastopol. The English troops employed in this expedition consisted of a brigade of the 4th Division under the command of Brigadier-General Hon. A. Spencer, composed of the 17th, 20th, 21st, 57th, and 63rd regiments, besides a force of artillery, engineers, &c., amounting altogether to about 4000 men. These were embarked on board the English fleet, which comprised 6 ships of the line, 17 frigates, 16 gun and mortar boats, and some dozen transports, the whole being steam-vessels. The French military force was somewhat stronger than the English, and was under the command of General Bazaine. They

were embarked on board the French fleet, consisting of several line-of-battle ships and frigates, besides three large floating batteries. In order to mislead the enemy, the expedition arrived off Odessa on the 9th, and there remained within sight of the town a few days; but again leaving it, arrived off Kinburn on the 16th of October. The following telegraphic despatch, received by the English Commander-in-Chief from Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, will, in a few words, describe the success of the Allies:—

“Royal Albert, off the Mouth of the Dnieper,
October 17th, 1855.

“The three forts on the Kinburn Spit, mounting upwards of seventy guns, and garrisoned by thirteen hundred men, under the command of Major-General Kokonovitch, have this day capitulated to the allied forces.

“The day before yesterday a flotilla of gun-vessels forced an entrance into the Dnieper, and the allied troops landed on the Spit to the southward of the forts; thus, by these simultaneous operations, the retreat of the garrison and the arrival of reinforcements were effectually cut off, so that the forts, being bombarded to-day by the mortar-vessels, gun-vessels, and French floating-batteries, and being closely commanded by the steam line-of-battle ships and frigates having only two feet of water under their keels, were soon obliged to surrender.

“The casualties in the fleets were very few; but

the enemy had forty-five killed and one hundred and thirty wounded.

"A steam-squadron, under the orders of Rear-Admirals Stewart and Pellion, lies at anchor in the Dnieper, and commands the entrance to Nicolaief and Kherson. The forts are occupied by the allied troops. The prisoners will be sent to Constantinople immediately."

The stores found in the fort were considerable: more than 90 dismounted guns, independent of those in battery, were captured, besides upwards of 25,000 missiles and 120,000 cartridges.

On the morning of the 18th, the fort of Otchakoff, on the point of land on the opposite side of the estuary, was blown up by the Russians, the garrison retreating to Nicholaieff. After the occupation of Kinburn by the English and French military force for a few days, a reconnaissance was made by a portion of the troops under General Bazaine. This occupied three days, but, with the exception of burning a few villages and exchanging occasional shots with the Cossacks who hovered round the allied troops, nothing more of importance was effected. On the 27th of October, Generals Bazaine and Spencer selected the troops which were to form the permanent garrison, the fort being again placed in a good state of repair. Almost all the English troops and a large portion of the French were then re-embarked, and returned to Sevastopol early in

November, leaving their comrades and a few ships of war, English and French, to guard the estuary and make preparations for the ensuing winter.

Shortly after the capture of Sevastopol, General Sir James Simpson tendered his resignation to the English Government, but it was some time before it was accepted, chiefly, it is said, in consequence of the difficulty of deciding who should be placed in command of the army as his successor. However, on the 10th of November, Sir James Simpson, in a General Order, announced to the army that his resignation had been accepted, and that General Sir W. Codrington (who had been promoted to that rank for the purpose) was to be his successor. The next day Sir William Codrington took command of the army.*

* The following were the General Orders issued to the army by General Sir James Simpson on resigning the command, and by General Sir W. Codrington on assuming it:—

“General After-Order, 10th November, 1855.—General Sir James Simpson announces to the army that the Queen has been graciously pleased to permit him to resign the command of this army, and to appoint General Sir William Codrington, K.C.B., to be his successor.

“On resigning his command the General desires to express to the troops the high sense he entertains of the admirable conduct of the officers and men of this army during the time he has had the honour to serve with them. In taking leave of them he tenders his best thanks to all ranks, and offers his earnest wishes for their success and honour in all the future operations of this noble army.

“General Sir William Codrington will be pleased to assume the command of the army to-morrow, the 11th instant.”

“General

Soon after the occupation of Sevastopol by the Allies, orders were given to the engineer officers of the English and French armies to make arrangements for the total destruction of the remaining Russian forts, docks, barracks, and public buildings in the town. Accordingly a division was made of the principal works between the commanding engineers of the two armies. It was a labour of some months before this undertaking was completed. The principal works destroyed were,—the Great Docks, in the Karabelnaia suburb; blown up piecemeal, the first explosion taking place on the 23rd December, 1855, and the final explosion on the 1st February,

“General Morning Order, 12th November, 1855.—I have assumed the command of the army in obedience to her Majesty’s orders. It is with a feeling of pride, and with a feeling of confidence in the support which I know will be heartily given to any officer honoured with such a commission. The armies of France and Sardinia are united with us on this ground. We know their gallantry well, for we have seen it;—we know their friendship, for we have profited by it;—we have shared difficulties, dangers, and successes, the groundwork of mutual esteem; and all will feel it our pleasure, as well as our duty, to carry on that kindly intercourse which is due to the intimate alliance of the nations themselves.

“Our army will always preserve its high character in the field. The sobriety, the good conduct, and the discipline which it is our duty to maintain, are the best sureties of future success; and I trust to the efforts and assistance of all ranks in thus keeping the army to be an instrument of honour, of power, and of credit to England.

(Signed)

*“W. J. CODRINGTON,
“General, Commander of the Forces.”*

1856. Fort Nicholas was blown up on the 4th February; Fort Alexander on the 11th; the Aqueduct (which conveyed the water supply for the docks from the Tchernaya river, near the village of Tchorgoun) on the 12th; and the White Works on the 28th. The Great Barracks were destroyed during the same month.

During the winter the British army was brought into a very high state of discipline. The recruits that were sent out from England, barely trained to fire off their rifles properly, were constantly drilled, and practised both in firing and manœuvring in the field, so that by the spring a finer body of troops could not have been found in Europe than those who formed the British force under Sir William Codrington's command. Well fed, well clothed, and well sheltered, with no harassing duty to perform, the English soldiers were a great contrast to those of the previous winter; no one would have taken the smart, healthy, clean troops on the plateau of Sevastopol in January, 1856, to have been of the same race and nation as the careworn, overworked, and sickly soldiers guarding the trenches in January, 1855. But it must be remembered that it was to the patient long-suffering, and courageous conduct of these same careworn, hard-worked, and sickly soldiers of the winter of 1854-55, that the English army was indebted for the ease

and comfort with which they passed the winter of 1855-56. Such, however, was unfortunately not the case with the French, for disease made dreadful havoc in their army, and death sadly thinned their ranks. The commissariat and medical department, which had been so often extolled during the active operations of the last campaign, and which were being perpetually held up by the English press as models to be imitated by the British Government, all at once appeared in their true light. From the accounts of all who witnessed it, nothing could be worse than the state of the French army, during the first quarter of the year 1856. They appear to have been indifferently fed and badly clothed; typhus fever raging at the time among them drove immense numbers into hospital, where their state was truly deplorable. The ambulances were so dreadfully crowded, the medical officers so overworked, that many of their patients were necessarily neglected, added to which there was the greatest want of the most ordinary medicines, and a perfect dearth of medical comforts and even necessaries. In the months of January, February, and March, 1856, between 30,000 and 40,000 men of the French army were acknowledged by the authorities to have died of disease; this being over one-fifth of their force in the East.* Yet during the severest weather of

* The French have always carefully concealed the return of their losses from the public, so that it is not, generally speaking,

the months of December, January, and February, 1854-55, when the English army was suffering its greatest hardships, and its most severe loss from sickness and disease, the deaths *in proportion* were not quite one-tenth of the strength of the British force then in the East. During the war in the East the English loss was as follows:—killed in action, 158 officers and 1775 men; died of their wounds, 51 officers and 1870 men; died of disease, 55 officers and 15,669 men. It would appear also that 2873 men were discharged from the service in consequence of being incapacitated from disease or wounds; which makes a total loss during the two years of the war (from the 31st of March, 1854, to the 31st of March, 1856) of 264 officers and 22,187 men.

During the first months of the present year, negotiations were commenced between the belligerent powers for arranging a congress to take into consideration the proposals offered by them as a basis for terms of peace. After a considerable delay, it was at length settled that Paris should be the scene

known how enormous they were. But the author remembers perfectly Marshal Pélissier telling Lord Raglan, about the middle of June, 1855, that the French army in the East had lost, since the commencement of the war, upwards of 72,000 men; yet the French Government in June, 1856, state their losses to be in the army, during the two years of war, 62,492. This statement may give the reader some idea of the way the official returns are *cooked* by the French Government. Vide Appendix H.

of the conferences, and that each power should send two representatives. Accordingly, the first meeting of the congress took place at the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris on the 25th of February. The representatives commenced by arranging an armistice, which was to expire by the 31st of March. It was not until two days before that date that the terms of peace were finally agreed to, and they were signed on the 30th of March, 1856.

Thus ended the war between the Allies—England, France, Turkey, and Sardinia—and Russia: a war which, although short, yet,—from the efforts it has called forth beyond all former parallel and precedent;—from the new light it has thrown upon the attack and defence of fortified places;—from the probable series of weighty political issues it will have effected;—from the amount of brilliant and heroic courage that was displayed;—and, above all, from the circumstance of two ancient rivals fighting side by side (in the cause of justice, against tyranny and oppression), linking thus, at least in honourable partnership, the prominent nations of our globe;—will be handed down to the end of time, as one of the most memorable since its beginning.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

Weekly State of Army,

	OFFICERS.				SERJEANTS.							TRUMPETERS OR			
	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Present.		Sick.		Command.	Prisoners of War and Missing.	Total.	Present.		Sick.	
					Under Arms.	Otherwise employed.	Present.	Absent.				Under Arms.	Otherwise employed.	Present.	Absent.
Mounted Staff .	..	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..
Cavalry Division	16	29	39	46	126	46	9	14	15	..	208	28	..	1	2
Infantry . .	85	246	391	218	1293	166	150	406	134	2	2150	488	2	35	106
Ambulance .	1	1	1	1	6	..	..	1	3	..	10	..	..	..	1
ARTILLERY.															
Staff. . . .	7	12	..	5	27	..	..	2	..	..	29	..	..	..	..
Field Batteries	..	16	25	10	52	..	..	5	..	..	57	11	..	1	1
Siege Train .	..	28	34	4	66	1	2	8	1	..	79	26	..	1	2
Total .	7	56	59	19	145	1	3	13	1	..	163	37	..	2	3
Royal Engineers, Sappers, and Miners . .	4	9	15	6	19	2	3	4	20	..	48	12	..	..	..
ORDNANCE.	SIEGE GUNS.								TOTAL.	FIELD GUNS.				TOTAL.	
	10-inch.	8-inch.	68-pounders.	32-pounders.	24-pounders.	9-pounder Field guns.	13-inch Mortars.	10-inch Mortars.		9-pounders.	24-pounder Howitzers.	6-pounders.	12-pounder Howitzers.		
	2	15	6	62	24	2	8	14	135	36	18	4	2	60	

(A.)

26th of March, 1855.

DRUMMERS.			RANK AND FILE.							HORSES.			
Command.	Prisoners of War and Missing.	Total.	Present.		Sick.		Command.	Prisoners of War and Missing.	Total.	Present.	Sick.	Command.	Total.
			Under Arms.	Batmen and other-wise employed.	Present.	Absent.							
..	15	1	..	9	12	..	37	18	6	31	55
2	..	33	989	233	140	312	114	1	1,789	315	323	82	720
8	..	638	15,920	1854	3394	9476	1713	64	32,421	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	85	..	4	66	41	..	196	..	..	..	..
										Native Horses.			
..	68	..	..	..	..	68	51	12	..	..
..	..	13	1,196	..	175	307	..	3	1,681	749	290	..	..
..	..	29	1,608	6	90	291	..	..	1,995	17	73	..	..
..	..	42	2,804	74	265	598	..	3	3,744	817	375	..	..
2	..	14	406	43	37	76	106	..	668	..	..	..	..
GRAND TOTAL													
Cavalry and Infantry.				Ordnance Corps.				Whole Army.					
Officers	1,077	Officers	..	..	175	Men	..	..	..	43,318	
Serjeants	2,371	Serjeants	..	..	211	Horses	..	..	..	1,967	
Trumpeters, &c.	673	Drummers	..	..	58	Guns	..	..	..	195	
Rank and File	34,443	Rank and File	..	..	4,412						
Horses	775	Horses	..	..	1,192						

(B.)

Weekly State of Army,

	OFFICERS.				SERJEANTS.							TRUMPETERS OR			
	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Present.		Sick.		Prisoners of War and Missing.	Total.	Present.		Sick.		
					Under Arms.	Otherwise employed.	Present.	Absent.			Command.	Under Arms.	Otherwise employed.	Present.	Absent.
Mounted Staff.	1	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..
Cavalry Division	21	43	70	58	211	65	12	10	13	..	311	52	..	4	..
Infantry . .	106	317	475	246	1576	204	136	307	99	1	2323	595	4	33	61
Ambulance .	1	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..
ARTILLERY.															
Staff. . . .	0	15	..	5	38	..	..	2	..	..	40	..	..	..	..
Field Batteries and Ball Cartridge Brigade	..	22	36	15	71	..	..	1	..	..	72	16	..	1	1
Siege Train .	..	38	56	5	80	1	2	8	1	..	92	28	..	..	2
Total .	9	75	92	25	189	1	2	11	1	..	204	44	..	1	3
Royal Engineers, Sappers and Miners . .	3	4	11	5	15	2	6	3	22	..	48	11	1	..	..
ORDNANCE.	SIEGE GUNS.							TOTAL.	FIELD GUNS.				TOTAL.		
	10-inch.	8-inch.	68-pounds.	32-pounds.	9-pounder Field Guns.	13-inch Mortars.	10-inch Mortars.		9-pounds.	24-pounder Howitzers.	18-pounds.	32-pounder Howitzers.			
	8	46	8	49	2	26	17		44	22	4	4			
	8	46	8	49	2	26	17		156	44	22	4		4	74

(B.)

3rd of June, 1855.

DRUMMERS.			RANK AND FILE.							HORSES.			
Command.	Prisoners of War and Missing.	Total.	Present.		Sick.		Command.	Prisoners of War and Missing.	Total.	Present.	Sick.	Command.	Total.
			Under Arms.	Battmen and other-wise employed.	Present.	Absent.							
..	11	1	1	6	14	..	33	32	10	12	54
2	..	58	2,138	305	212	92	136	1	2,884	1729	349	122	2202
2	..	695	22,329	2078	2477	6332	992	28	34,236	..	..	..	..
1	..	1	80	..	10	..	38	..	128	..	..	..	..
										Mules.			
..	77	..	..	..	..	77	65	..	..
..	..	18	2,370	..	127	158	1	..	2,656	2180	465	..	
..	..	30	1,805	6	114	246	..	..	2,171	9	97	..	
..	..	48	4,175	83	241	404	1	..	4,904	2254	562	..	
2	..	14	315	28	61	48	138	..	590	..	..	..
GRAND TOTAL.													
Cavalry, Infantry, &c.				Ordnance Corps.				Whole Army.					
Officers	1,342	Officers	..	..	224	Men	..	..	..	48,039	
Serjeants	2,640	Serjeants	..	..	252	Horses	..	..	..	4,510	
Drummers, &c.	754	Drummers	..	..	62	Mules	..	..	..	562	
Rank and File	37,271	Rank and File	..	..	5,494	Guns	..	..	..	230	
Horses	2,256	Horses	..	..	2,254						
				Mules	..	..	562						

(C.)

Head-quarters before

RIGHT ATTACK.

No. of Batteries.	Nature of Guns and				Mortars.		Total.	Object
	10-inch.	68-pounders.	32-pounders.	8-inch.	13-inch.	10-inch.		
1*	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	Malakoff Tower.
2	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	Ditto.
3*	..	1	2	2	..	..	5	Ditto.
4*	..	1	4	1	..	..	6	Ditto.
5*	2	4	1	..	..	..	7	Redan &c.
6	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	Ditto.
7	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	Ditto.
8	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	Malakoff Tower.
9	..	..	..	8	..	..	8	Mamelon.
10	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	Whole of front Attack.
11	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	Malakoff and Mamelon.
12	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	Ditto and Redan.
13*	1	..	..	3	..	..	4	Malakoff.
14	..	..	..	5	..	..	5	Redan and Barrack.
Total	4	7	7	19	12	6	55	

* Batteries manned by Naval Brigade.

(C.)

Sevastopol.—2nd June, 1855.

LEFT ATTACK.

No. of Batteries.	Nature of Guns and				Mortars.		Total.	Object.
	10-inch.	68-pounders.	32-pounders.	8-inch.	13-inch.	10-inch.		
1	2	..	5	4	..	..	11	Barrack, Redan, and Malakoff.
2*	..	..	8	2	..	..	10	Barrack.
3*	..	..	6	..	..	..	6	Redan.
4*	1	..	6	2	..	..	9	Bastion du Mât and Garden.
5	..	..	3	..	..	3	6	Creek.
6	..	..	6	..	..	..	6	Garden.
7	..	..	8	2	..	..	10	Barrack and Redan.
8*	1	1	..	2	..	..	4	Ditto and Lower Garden.
9*	..	..	..	7	..	..	7	From Redan to Barrack.
10	..	..	..	8	..	..	8	Creek, Barrack; Redan, and Malakoff.
11	..	..	..	..	6	..	6	Barrack to Redan.
12	..	..	..	..	8	..	8	Ditto.
13	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	Garden and Barrack.
14	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	Creek, Barrack, and Malakoff.
Total	4	1	42	27	14	11	99	

* Batteries manned by Naval Brigade.

(D.)

Divisional After Order.

September 7th, 1855.

No. 1. The Redan will be assaulted after the French have attacked the Malakoff. The Light and 2nd Divisions will share this important duty, each party respectively the half of each party.

The 2nd brigade of Light Division, with an equal number from the 2nd Division, will form the first body of attack, each division furnishing—first, a covering party of 100 men, under a field officer; second, a storming party, carrying ladders, of 160 men, under a field officer (these men to be selected for this essential duty will be first to storm after they have placed the ladders); third, a storming party of 500 men, with two field officers; fourth, a working party of 100 men, with a field officer. The support will consist of the remainder of the brigade, to be immediately in the rear.

No. 2. The covering party will consist of 100 rank and file of the Rifle Brigade, 2nd battalion, under the command of Captain Fyers, and will be formed on the extreme left of the fifth parallel, ready to move out steadily in extended order towards the Redan; their duty being to cover the advance of the ladder party and keep down the fire from the parapets.

No. 3. The first storming party of Light Division will consist of 100 men of the 97th regiment, under the command of Major Welsford. This party will carry the ladders and be the first to storm; they will be formed in the new boyeau running from the centre of the fifth parallel; they will follow immediately in

rear of the covering party ; they must be good men and true to their difficult duty, which is to arrive at the ditch of the Redan and place the ladders down it, to turn 20 of them, so as to get up the face of the work, leaving the other 20 ladders for others to come down by.

No. 4. The next storming party will consist of 200 men of the 97th regiment, under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. H. R. Handcock, and 300 of the 90th regiment, under the command of Captain R. Grove. This party will be stationed in the fifth parallel, and will assemble in a column of divisions at one place. The Light Division will lead the whole column of attack, which will be formed of divisions of 20 files, and so be told off.

No. 5. The supports, consisting of 750 men of the 19th and 88th regiments (with part of the 2nd Division) on the left, will be placed as they stand in brigade, in the third parallel, whence they will move into the fifth parallel so soon as the assault is made by those in front of them.

No. 6. The working party of 100 men will be furnished by the 90th regiment, under Captain Perrin, and be placed in No. 2 and 3 left boyeaux ; they will receive afterwards instructions from an officer of the Engineers.

No. 7. The remainder of the Light and 2nd Divisions will form a reserve ; Light Division in right boyeau, between third and fourth parallels ; 2nd Division in the left boyeau, between the third and fourth parallels.

No. 8. The Highland Division will be formed in that part of the third parallel in communication with the French right attack and middle ravine.

(E.)

at the several Bombardments of Sevastopol.

OF AMMUNITION.								TOTAL.	ORDNANCE.	
Mortars.		Guns.							Manned by Navy.	Manned by Artillery.
8-inch.	5½-inch.	Lancaster.	24-pounder.	32-pounder.	8-inch.	10-inch.	68-pounder.			
..	..	370	7,112	5,711	5,943	..	..	21,881	..	..
..	..	..	8,679	5,539	1,604	640	3730	30,633	49	74
..	..	..	..	5,627	12,300	1142	..	32,883	56	98
..	..	..	..	9,746	6,712	1706	1350	22,684	51	115
..	906	..	..	6,984	6,500	492	145	26,270	55	141
870	314	..	..	9,894	4,111	254	1496	28,476	49	158
870	1220	370	15,791	43,501	37,170	4234	6721	163,232	... Total.	
Light balls, 300; carcasses, 105—from 17th Aug. to 8th Sept.								406		
From 9-pounders in advanced trenches at intermediate times.								682		
2304	3627	1172	12,713	22,375	20,161	1877	..	88,640		
3174	4847	1542	28,504	65,876	57,331	6111	6721	251,872		
Total issued								300,892		
Remaining in Battery								49,425		

(F.)

MEMORANDUM of Battering-trains and Ordnance shipped in England, and in readiness at Varna, before the army embarked for the Crimea.

(N.B. Sent in two divisions, and so called Battery-train Nos. 1 and 2.)

	Number.
8-inch Guns of 52 cwt.	20
24-pounder Guns of 50 cwt.	30
10-inch Mortars	10
5½-inch Mortars (called Royals) ..	20
With proportions of carriages and stores. Ammunition, 800 rounds per gun.	

3rd Train, sent out November 1854.

8-inch Guns of 52 cwt.	10
32-pounder Guns of 50 cwt.	20
10-inch Mortars	10
5½-inch Mortars	10

4th Train, December 1854.

8-inch Guns of 52 cwt.	15
32-pounder Guns of 50 cwt.	20
10-inch Mortars	10
8-in. Lancaster Guns	3

5th Train, May 1855.

13-inch Mortars	6
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Both guns and mortars were supplied for the siege from Gibraltar and from Malta.

Number of guns and mortars in use during the whole siege :—

					Number.
Lancaster Guns	..	..	..	..	7
32-pounders	..	..	..	..	140
24-pounders	..	..	..	..	57
8-inch Guns	..	..	..	..	76
10-inch Guns	..	..	..	..	7
68-pounders	..	..	..	..	7
13-inch Mortars	..	..	..	..	35
10-inch Mortars	..	..	..	..	35
8-inch Mortars	..	..	..	..	11
5½-inch Mortars	..	..	..	..	20

N.B. Upwards of 250,000 rounds were fired.

NOTE.—The 10-inch and 8-inch guns are used chiefly as shell-guns. Their weight is not sufficient to bear a charge for solid shot; they are therefore designated by the calibre, viz. 10 or 8 inch.

The 68-pounder Gun is the same in calibre as the 8-inch, but weighing 95 cwt. will bear a charge for solid shot weighing 68 lbs.

(G.)

No. 1.—BADAJOZ, 1811.

Place invested 4th May. Ground broke 8th May. Siege raised 14th May. Distance of batteries, 450 yards.

Engineer Force employed.

Officers of Royal Engineers.	Royal Military Artificers.	Volunteers from the Army.	Total.
21	27	184	232

Ordnance and Ammunition provided.

24-pounder Guns.	8-inch Howitzers.	Total.	24-pounder Shot.	8-inch Shells.	Total.
9	4	13	6400	1600	8000

Place reinvested 25th May. Ground broke 30th May. Bombardment 3rd to 10th June. Siege raised 10th June. Distance of batteries 600 yards.

Engineer and Artillery Force employed.

Royal Engineers.	Royal Military Artificers.	Volunteers from the Line.	Total.	Gunnery.		Total.
				Portuguese.	British.	
21	25	265	311	500	100	600

ORDNANCE.

	24-pounder.	16-pounder.	8-inch Howitzers.	10-inch Howitzers.	Total.
Employed in Siege .	30	4	8	4	46
Disabled by enemy's fire }	3	..	3	..	6
Disabled by their own fire }	15	..	1	2	18
Total . . .	18	..	4	2	24

AMMUNITION.

	24-pounder Shot.	14-pounder Grape.*	16-pounder Shot.	8-inch Shells.	10-inch Shells.	Total.
Issued . . .	18,000	..	1200	2800	800	22,800
Expended . .	14,369	641	1134	2079	702	18,915

Powder, 1545 barrels.

* The grape was made during the siege.

No. 2.—CIUDAD RODRIGO, 1812.

Place invested and ground broke 8th January. Fire opened 15th January.
Assault given 19th January. Distance of batteries, 600 and 550 yards.

Engineer and Artillery Force employed.

Royal Engineers.	Royal Military Artificers.	Volunteers from the Line.	Total.	Royal Artillery Officers.	Gunners.		Total.
					British.	Portuguese.	
19	18	260	297	14	171	370	555
					541		

ORDNANCE.

Provided.			Disabled.			Remaining in Park.		
24-pndrs.	18-pndrs.	Total.	24-pndr.	18-pndrs.	Total.	24-pndrs.	18-pndrs.	Total.
34	4	38	1	..	1	3	..	3

AMMUNITION EXPENDED.

	24-pounder Shot.	18-pounder Shot.	Total.	Barrels of Powder.
	8950	565	9515	834

No. 3.—BADAJOZ, 1812.

Place invested 16th March. Ground broke 17th March. Fire opened 25th March. Assault given 6th April. Distance of batteries 600 yards.

Engineer and Artillery Force employed.

Royal Engineers.	Royal Military Artificers.	Volunteers from the Line.	Total.	Royal Artillery Officers.	Gunners.		Artificers.	Total.
					Portuguese.	British.		
24	115	200	339	23	566	296	25	910
					862			

ORDNANCE.

	24-pounders.	18-pounders.	24-pounder Howitzers.	Total.
Employed in siege . . .	16	20	16	52
Disabled	1	3	1	5

AMMUNITION.

	24-pndr. Shot.	24-pndr. Grape.	24-pndr. Case.	18-pndr. Shot.	18-pndr. Grape.	18-pndr. Case.	5½-inch Common Shells.	5½-inch Spherical Shells.	Total.
Issued .	22,367	1680	424	17,837	1000	500	2526	2440	48,774
Expended	18,832	1051	112	13,029	328	168	507	1319	35,346

Powder, 2523 barrels.

No. 4.—BURGOS, 1812.

Place invested and ground broke 19th September. Fire opened 30th September. Assault given 13th October. Siege raised 21st October. Distance of batteries 200 yards.

Engineer and Artillery Force employed.

Royal Engineers.	Assistant Engineers.	Royal Military Artificers.	Volunteers from the Line.	Total.	Royal Artillery Officers.	Gunners.		Total.
						British.	Portuguese.	
5	10	8	81	104	18	90	57	165
					147			

ORDNANCE USED AT THE SIEGE.

British.		French—taken in the hornwork St. Michel.				Total.
18-pounders.	24-pounder Howitzers.	8-pounders.	6-pounders.	4-pounders.	6-inch Howitzers.	
3	5	1	1	1	1	12

AMMUNITION.

	24-pound Round Shot.	18-pound Round Shot.	24-pound Common Shells.	24-pound Spherical Shells.	18-pound Spherical Shells.	French 6-inch Shells.	French 8-pound Shot.	French 6-pound Shot.	French 4-pound Shot.
Expended	920	1854	203	182	..	192	333	90	288
Remaining on Oct. 18	..	212	5	62	100	134	833	86	529
Total provided or procured . . . }	920	2066	208	244	100	326	1166	176	817

No. 5.—ST. SEBASTIAN, 1813.

1st Operation.—Place invested 23rd June. Ground broke 11th July.
Fire opened 20th July. Assault given 25th July. Distance of
batteries: Left attack 800 yards; right attack 600 to 1300 yards.

Engineer and Artillery Force employed.

Royal Engineers.	Sappers and Miners.	Total.	Officers serving Siege Train.			Gunners.			Total.
			Royal Artillery.	Portuguese.	Naval.	British.	Portuguese.	Seamen.	
18	309	327	31	8	7	369	107	50	572
			46			526			

2nd Operation.—Siege commenced 23rd August. Fire opened 26th August. Assault given 31st August.

ARTILLERY FORCE.

Officers.			Gunners.			Total.
British.	Portuguese.	Naval.	British.	Portuguese.	Seamen.	
42	12	6	494	187	80	821
60			761			

ORDNANCE.

Left Attack.				Right Attack.						Grand Total.
8-inch Howitzers.	24-pounders.	18-pounders.	Total.	12-inch Mortars (Spanish).	10-inch Mortars.	8-inch Howitzers.	68-pounder Carronades.	24-pounders.	Total.	
2	7	6	15	1	15	7	4	21	48	63

AMMUNITION EXPENDED.

	24-pounder Round Shot.	24-pounder Grape and Case.	24-pounder Spherical.	18-pounder Round Shot.	18-pounder Spherical.	12-inch Shells.	10-inch Common Shells.	8-inch Common Shells.	8-inch Spherical Case.	8-inch Common Case.	Total.
1st operation	15,350	718	1434	5034	..	..	503	2836	1676	168	27,719
2nd operation	28,017	1376	496	4269	150	100	3252	4930	522	..	43,112
Total .	43,367	2094	1930	9303	150	100	3755	7766	2198	168	70,831

Barrels of powder.—1st operation . . . 2095 }
 ,, 2nd operation . . . 3484 } Total . . . 5579

(H.)

Extracts from an article which appeared in the ' Medical Times and Gazette,' on Saturday, June 14th, 1856.

Mortality in the French army. For the truth of the following statements we have the authority of medical officers both in our own and the French service, and have permission to name them, if need be. They are not only interesting in themselves, but additionally so, as the facts have been studiously concealed by the French government, and are now made known for the first time in this country.

1. There were 14 French hospitals in the Bosphorus up to the end of March, since then 3 others have been added. The following is a copy of an official return of the patients treated in all the hospitals in January, February, and March, 1856 :—

January	..	..	..	..	..	13,520
February	..	..	..	..	..	21,309
March	..	..	..	..	..	18,167

2 During the ten days ending on the 20th of March 1009 *patients died*, and during the following ten days 948 *patients died* in these hospitals. The number of sick under treatment, for all diseases, on the 20th of March, was 11,366, and on the 30th, 9763.

3. The aggregate loss by death from sickness (1/3 being from typhus) in the French hospitals on the Bosphorus exceeded 10,000 during the first quarter of 1856.

The daily mortality in 12 of these hospitals, in January and February, ranged up to 240.

4. From the 1st of January to the 17th of March, when the transport of typhus cases from the Crimea was discontinued authoritatively, more than 5000 deaths occurred on board French transports and men-of-war, between the Crimea and the Bosphorus.

5. In the Crimea there were 14 field-hospitals or ambulances during the same period, each containing from 800 to 1100 sick. The deaths in each varied from 15 to 20 daily. Thus the aggregate loss by death from disease in these hospitals, during this period, exceeded 19,000, and is believed to have been little under 25,000.

6. It is *known* that more than 34,000 French soldiers of the army of the East died from disease during the months of January, February, and March, 1856. It is *believed* by those able to judge that those deaths exceeded 40,000.

7. 64 French surgeons have died in the Crimea and on the Bosphorus since last November. Of 362 surgeons of all ranks who have served with the French army since its landing in Gallipoli in the autumn of 1854 to April 1856, 72 have died from typhus alone.

8. On the 15th of March, 1856, there were, in the officers' hospital at Constantinople, 31 surgeons in different stages of typhus, and only 1 combatant officer.

9. Of 840 hospital orderlies and attendants employed in the 60 days of January and February, 603 were attacked by typhus when on service. Why should typhus have arisen in the French camp, and not in ours? Why did it spread so awfully after it had originated? . . . The condition of the French

soldier in camp sufficiently accounts for the *origin* of the epidemic. He was crowded in tents or huts, imperfectly warmed and insufficiently ventilated, upon ground soddened by the products of animal and vegetable decomposition. He was attenuated by want of sufficient food, affected by scurvy from the *quality* of the food he did receive. The same causes led to like results with us the year before. We removed them, and our army has been ever since in the highest health and efficiency. Our allies continued in our former erroneous path, and lost a fourth of their army in three months. The condition of the ambulances, transports, and hospitals accounts for the rapid *spread* of the epidemic. The French surgeons admit that the condition of the places to which the sick were first sent for treatment was horrible. The huts and tents were overcrowded; the only latrine was a cask. The beds were the *lits-de-camp* for two persons; the beds and bed-clothes were unchanged for several months. When a patient died, no matter of what disease, his bed was occupied by a fresh arrival. There were no trained attendants; the only nurses were soldiers fit for no other duty, and, of course, unfit for the office. The duties of night-watching were added to those of day attendance; patients were therefore unavoidably neglected. Typhus affected *nine-tenths of all the patients who passed through the ambulances*. In all the transports the sick were so overcrowded that the French medical officers, when defending the practice of removing the sick from the Crimea, could only say that it was better to take them on board than to leave them dying on the beach at Kamiesch. Every one who has visited the French

hospitals on the Bosphorus lately agrees in stating that, with the exception of the officers' hospital, they are over-crowded; that the ill effects of crowding are not diminished by free ventilation; that the patients themselves, their bedding and clothing, and the floors, walls, and windows of the buildings are offensively dirty; that the latrines, &c., are odious; and that the supply of medical officers and their attendants is insufficient. No one who has witnessed the admirable conduct of the French army surgeons can conceal the admiration he feels for the courage, zeal, and self-sacrifice they have shown in the discharge of their duties. But they have been overworked and unsupported. The following is an instance. The Hospital de Pera has beds for 2400 sick, besides officers and attendants. On the 1st of March last there were only a few unoccupied beds, left so by the deaths of the preceding twenty-four hours. The medical staff consisted of 3 first-class and 3 second-class surgeons and 4 assistants. According to Imperial ordonnance, there *should have been* 24 qualified surgeons and half this number of clerks and dressers (sous-aides). The chief, Dr. Cambay, had sole charge of 203 beds, assisted only by 1 aide-major and a civil surgeon, an Italian. The smallest number under the care of one surgeon was 153. During the morning visit on the 1st of March, from 7 to 9:30 A.M., Dr. Cambay actually dictated the diet and treatment of 196 sick, many of them being acute cases. But the surgeons are not only overworked; their position is such that they cannot enforce obedience to their orders. They are strictly confined to the *art of healing*; in all other matters they are made

subordinate to the Intendance. They cannot thin or ventilate a crowded ward, obtain a change of bed or body linen for a patient, or alter the diet, without the permission of the Intendant. Our correspondent writes that the influence of the Intendance prevented the segregation of the fever cases, and thus led to the spread of the disease by contagion.

THE END.

